Vol. XXX. No. 119 *September 1941*

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An Irish Quarterly Review

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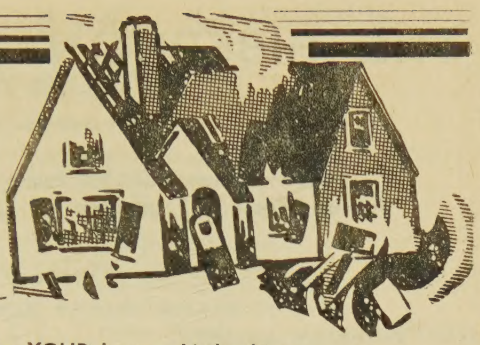

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 28th day of July, 1941.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1941, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£32,232 19 3
To which has to be added :—	
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	27,607 14 11
	£59,840 14 2
The Directors recommend that the balance available be applied as follows, viz. :—	
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	£27,500 0 0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000 0 0
To next Account	27,340 14 2
	£59,840 14 2

The Reserve Fund remains at £740,000.

By Order of the Board,

GEORGE ROCHE,
General Manager

DUBLIN 10th July, 1941.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.

Dr. **BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1941.** Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—500,000 Shares of £4 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £1 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ..	1,523,610 6 3
,, Reserve Fund	740,000 0 0	,, Investments, viz.:—	
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0		War Loan, National Loans, and other Government Stocks, (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding, as per Contra)	5,342,805 19 3
Less: Held by the Bank ... 31,269 0 0		Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	172,115 11 8
	518,731 0 0		£7,038,531 17 2
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,196,922 16 9	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	5,825,215 5 6
,, Profit and Loss Account ...	59,840 14 2	,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 56 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	151,747 8 3
	£13,015,494 10 11		£13,015,494 10 11

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1941.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Dividend to be paid in August, 1941, subject to deduction of Income Tax £ s. d. ... 27,500 0 0		By Balance from last Account ...	27,607 14 11
,, Bank Premises Account ... 5,000 0 0		,, Net Profit for Half-year after payment of Expenses of Management including Directors' Fees (£2,000) and providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts, Revenue Taxes, Contingencies, and all other outlay	32,232 19 3
,, Balance to next Acct. 27,340 14 2			
	59,840 14 2		
	£59,840 14 2		£59,840 14 2

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1941, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
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DUBLIN, 10th July, 1941.

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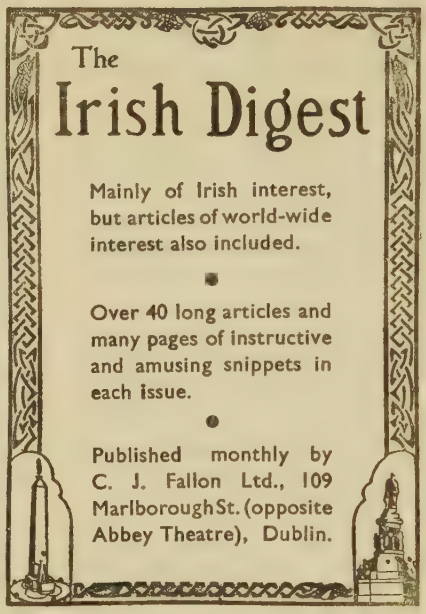
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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

SEPTEMBER 1941

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ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF MODERN IRISH NATIONALISM*

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.
Vice-Chairman of Seanad Éireann

IT is the purpose of this paper to deal as objectively as possible with the origins and character of the complex phenomenon known as Irish nationalism. Students of British history, and in particular of the British Commonwealth of Nations in its modern form, while necessarily recognising the existence of this phenomenon, can hardly be said as a general rule to understand it very fully or to judge its past importance and present potentialities in a very sure light. Yet it has been an influence in the modern development of British Government whose force can scarcely be over-estimated; and it is doubtful if any other single factor has contributed so much to the formation of the British Commonwealth of Nations as at present constituted. The setting up of the Irish Free State in 1921 and its recent transformation into the State of Ireland or Éire may seem to have, to some extent at least, eliminated this force from the field of British and Commonwealth politics; but its complete objectives are as yet unrealised, and its strength remains at least as great as before. It is therefore obvious that sooner or later, when the appropriate crisis occurs, it will again come into play and that its repercussions, as always, will be formidable.

There are two common fallacies in relation to Irish nationalism upon which, apart from failure to judge its strength, most of the disastrous misunderstandings of its meaning may be said to have so far rested. It is thought that it can be understood without knowledge of the long history which has produced it; and it is taken for a purely political phenomenon, whereas in its essential nature it is much more a cultural and social one. A slighter misunderstanding than these is the

* Paper prepared for the British Commonwealth Relations Conference held at Sydney, August-September 1938.

common propagandist view that Irish unrest in the past has been produced by some kind of original sin peculiar to the Irish character. There is no doubt that this character has played an enormous part in the tragic history of the relations between Ireland and Great Britain. Nevertheless it is true to say, as has so often been vainly repeated, that the Irish problem is essentially a British creation, and this not merely in times long past. At this very moment conscious and deliberate British policy is maintaining in Ireland a strident challenge to one of the most powerful Irish instincts, the instinct for national unity. The obvious Parliamentary reply that the British Government has no responsibility for partition ignores the much more obvious presence of British troops, paid by the British exchequer, in Northern Ireland to maintain it. Sooner or later that challenge will be met. How it will be met is a question the answer to which circumstances will dictate, and upon which the pacific declarations of present-day statesmen have no bearing.

It is easy for students familiar with the history of recently-formed communities to make mistakes in their estimation of the problems that arise in those of far older origin. Nineteenth and twentieth century parliamentary politics, dealing as they have done to so great an extent with questions of immediate practical import, have all along shown a fatal tendency to ignore deep-seated historical instincts, often incapable of precise formulation and entirely immeasurable by practical or business standards. In this immeasurability lies a very large part of the trouble about Irish nationalism, whose roots go far back into history and whose instinctive motions are often reactions to forces once powerful but now entirely spent and almost forgotten. The proverbial long memory of the Irish for past wrongs is not at all the conscious perversity in unreasoning rancour that it is so often represented as being. It is the complex subconscious product of a centuries-old struggle. Only the *naiveté* of an uninstructed and unimaginative "business-man" could suppose that such historical forces are unreal. They are the most powerful thing in history, and nowhere more powerful than in the very English community which has

so often denied their right to existence in Ireland. What is peculiar about them in Ireland is that they are the product of an arrested development, and that there have existed for many centuries no traditional or organic national institutions, such as do exist in England, to correspond to them. At the present day the sole traditional Irish public institution is the Church, upon which in Ireland the native character has been indelibly stamped, so that if you want to meet the typical Irishman you must seek out the priest. Everything else in Ireland is nostalgia for the past or aspiration towards the future. It must above all be emphasised, with the greatest possible force, that English political and social institutions have no meaning for the Irishman and call forth no loyalty from him. This applies to all institutions from Crown to Commonwealth and from peer to county council. Some of these institutions are passively accepted; they are not respected and least of all can they be said to be loved.

The origins of Irish nationalism must be sought far back in history, in the existence of a distinctive Irish civilisation, which was itself produced by the impact of the Christian Church upon a much older native pagan culture. There is little or no analogy between this Irish civilisation and those of the normal European States, which go back in one form or another to the political and social institutions of the Roman Empire. Ireland, unlike England, Germany or the Latin States, was Romanised only to the extent that it was Christianised. What resulted was not political unity nor even any clear political idea, but a most powerful and permanent native literary, artistic and religious culture, taking its highest form in the deepest consciousness of national unity and national otherness. Unlike Scotland, which owed both its national monarchy and its native culture to Irish colonists, Ireland never achieved more than a transient and uneasy political union among its many local communities and provincial kingdoms. What it did achieve was more powerful, less liable to injury from external attack. Its native civilisation triumphed over Scandinavian and Norman invaders, assimilated both, put up a long struggle against the centralised Tudor

State, held out in an attenuated form even against the triumphant English nationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and has survived to the present day to be perhaps the strongest element in the complex Irish national character. One of the strangest things about modern English historical scholarship is that it should have devoted so little attention to this highly original and remarkably vital civilisation, the remnants of which could transform British politics when the Empire was at its strongest. The explanation of this neglect can only lie in the tragic antipathy which goes back as far as the outlawing of the native Irish in their own country by the Norman invaders.

The nearest comparison which enables us to grasp the character of this historic Irish civilisation is that with the great non-political cultures of the Orient, such as those of India and especially of China. It need hardly be said that this comparison is one of essence rather than one in respect of either quality or quantity. No attempt is at all implied to place the products of Irish national culture on the same level as those of the East. What is intended is rather to point out the similarity, on a totally different scale, between the non-political but religious, literary and artistic culture of, say, China, which produced its own very original and peculiar national institutions and gave the Chinese character a permanent impress, and the phenomenon which produced an exactly similar result in the small island of Ireland. In both cases it was the strength imparted by originality and long-continued adaptation to the ideas of one people that enabled the native culture, with only a shaky political framework or with none, to withstand a long series of internal crises and attacks from without. Just as the great culture of China seems at the present moment to be transforming itself, under European, American and Japanese pressure, into a highly explosive and dangerous brand of nationalism, so, under English pressure since the fall of the Stuarts, has Irish culture been transferred into a product which, while it has lost a great deal of its cultural character, is as little capable of yielding to that pressure as was the culture itself.

Irish civilisation had already acquired its characteristic form before the Scandinavian invasions in the ninth century. The effect upon it of these invasions, for all the disastrous losses they entailed, was to set it off upon another very original and still highly creative phase. There was even an effort, caused by military exigencies, to establish a strong national political unity as a sort of expression for the cultural unity which had for centuries already prevailed. This effort came to nothing owing to the death of Murchad, Brian's son, at the Battle of Clontarf, 1014. The period which followed is known in Irish history as that of the Kings with Opposition; but although marked by great political disunion, it was a period of powerful reintegration in religion and culture, so that the modern dioceses and parishes, by far the most important and organic social units, as well as some of the finest products of the native art and literature, date from this time. The Normans came with a Papal commission to introduce order and civilisation to Ireland. What they really brought was a violent intensification of political anarchy, from which the country was not to emerge for centuries, and a very marked decline in all cultural activities. Nevertheless, the native way of life, language, and artistic as well as social traditions prevailed, and by the end of the fourteenth century the Normans were becoming " more Irish than the Irish themselves." This assimilative process, however, was never completed, and in the end led to the growth of a new and very important element in Irish history, the Anglo-Irish element, that " middle nation " which, reinforced by continual fresh arrivals from England and ultimately marked by the religious difference, was to become the Ascendancy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is still entrenched in a dominant position in the six counties of Ulster. This failure on the part of the native Irish to assimilate the Normans and the corresponding failure of the Normans and English to assimilate the Irish constitutes the great tragedy of Irish history. It left the country a perpetual battle-ground, and the battle was set long before the Reformation, which only intensified it. In the great wars of the sixteenth century what was at stake was the traditional Irish

type of society, way of life, and distinctive cultural unity; and with the attempt to impose the reformed religion, this cultural unity acquired a more religious character than had marked it before.

The seventeenth century was in Ireland a strange transitional period. Down to the collapse of the national resistance to King William at the Battle of Aughrim in 1691, a great deal of the old order still survived in spite of the Cromwellian upheaval and the steady persecution of the Catholics. It could almost seem as if the Stuart monarchy, itself Gaelic in origin though very little in spirit, was a guarantee for the continuance in some form of Gaelic culture. This was certainly the view of the poets, whose order had for centuries been the mainstay and symbol of the traditional cultural unity of Gaelic Ireland. They gave all their allegiance to the Stuart dynasty; and when it fell, their greatest representatives saw that Gaeldom had fallen along with it. The full history of Ireland's relation to the Stuarts has yet to be written. It was even more decisive and more tragic than that of Scotland. English and Scottish historians of the Stuarts seem scarcely to realise that, even after the Williamite triumph and the almost complete banishment of the Irish aristocracy, there was continued, especially in the south of Ireland, a great volume of popular poetry which linked the hopes and aspirations of the downtrodden Gaelic peasantry, not merely with the traditions of a vanished past but with the expectation that sooner or later the "Merchant's Son," the heir of King James, would return in triumph across the sea. It was to Scotland that the heir at last did return, but it was in Ireland that he was awaited with more passionate, and more artistically expressed longing. The half-century from Aughrim and Limerick to the Forty-five was filled with the expression of this hope in an eventual restoration, which it was dreamt would bring with it not merely religious freedom and the restitution of the land to its immemorial owners, but the revival of the old proud aristocratic culture of the Gael with its poetry, its music, and its traditions going back beyond Christianity to Oisin, the Fianna, and the Red Branch Knights. Culloden was just as much an Irish as a Scottish disaster, but

whereas Scotland thereafter lay helpless, Ireland's helplessness was to prove more apparent than real. There was to be another revival, more powerful than any before it, but this time it was to take an entirely new form and to be in many respects, like Sun Yat Sen's programme for new China, a negation of the old ideals.

This new form was what we now know as Irish nationalism, an amalgam of the political unrest, which began towards the end of the eighteenth century to develop amongst the Ascendancy class in Ireland, with the old instinctive aspirations of the populace. Already in the seventeenth century there had been a curious prefiguration of this new mixture, in the shape of a kind of aristocratic nationalism cemented by the religious bond between the Old Irish nobility and those of the Old English in Ireland (as they were called) who had remained Catholic. It was upon this brief but prophetic union that the Confederation of Kilkenny had rested. The religious bond, however, was too tenuous to last in face of intense racial antagonism, and the Old English rallied to the Stuarts or even to the Parliament cause. After Aughrim and Limerick there was no more native and very little Catholic aristocracy left. The ownership of land in Ireland was transferred almost entirely to Protestant hands, and this transference was completed during the next half-century by a long series of apostasies motivated by the desire to hold on to estates. By about 1750 Ireland was owned by an absentee aristocracy, mostly of foreign origin and almost exclusively Protestant in religion. The mass of the people were crushed down into a uniform condition of misery as tenants at will, their religion proscribed, their national traditions doomed to illiterate decay, their very language beginning to yield at last before the growing prestige of English. The triumph of this Ascendancy was bound up with the Stuart failure and the victory of the Hanoverian dynasty, as well as with the supremacy of the Protestant religion and the proscription of the Catholic. It was to combat this system that Irish nationalism came into being. What is little realised outside Ireland and less even inside it is that this system, in most of its essential features,

lasted down to the Great War of 1914 in the South and is still entirely predominant in the North.

From the standpoint of nationalism, the gloomiest period in Irish history was the half-century which elapsed between 1745 and the Union in 1801. The old hope of a Stuart restoration, poor as it was, was dead with Culloden, and for the ordinary Irishman there was nothing to take its place. Indeed, so low had the great majority sunk by that time that it was questionable if the ordinary Irishman was any longer capable of caring very much. He had become that bizarre, illiterate, tattered product that we begin to meet in the novels of Maria Edgeworth, speaking a queer jargon and bearing himself towards his social superiors with that easy-going tolerance which was never exactly respect and never lacked its touch of humour. His political consciousness could only express itself in outlandish secret societies—Ribbonmen, Whiteboys, Caravats, Shanavests—some of the names of which continued to inspire terror as late as a generation or so ago. Yet he still kept his fierce resentment at the loss of his religious freedom, as well as a very full consciousness that the land of Ireland belonged to him ; and even though his language decayed, there remained to him a wealth of traditional lore, of half-remembered poetry and of very ancient saga, which contributed far more than external observers could realise to give him his unique national character. He was unarmed and uninstructed, but if the chance came he could fight with remarkable determination, as the events of 1798 in Wexford, Mayo and Longford were to prove. When he did fight, the motives that drove him to it were still the old, half-conscious but very real aspirations towards the recovery of his old possessions : his religion, his land and his peculiar native way of life.

What gave a renewed opportunity to the mass of the Irish people in these aspirations was the development, in the ranks of the Ascendancy itself, of nationalism in the modern sense of the word. This development had begun early in the century with Molyneux and Swift, neither of them Irish in origin and both still less so in culture. It was powerfully reinforced by the successful revolt of the American colonies and was made

painfully acute by the French Revolution. The new nationalism was essentially a product of the English mentality, and quite beyond the range whether of the ancient Irish aristocracy or of the depressed modern peasantry. It took two forms, which ever since have competed one with the other, the desire to establish an Irish state virtually independent of England but entirely on the English model and owing allegiance to the Crown, and the more revolutionary policy of establishing an Irish republic modelled on that of France. The second was partly produced by the failure of the first after 1783, and both were entirely evolved by the same type of mind, an English not an Irish one. Between them, as alternatives to be pursued according to opportunity, they gave a new, intensely political development to a force which from the earliest centuries had lacked any clear political aim. They came at a highly providential moment, when the Stuart failure had seemed to deprive Ireland of all hope. It is very remarkable that ever since the end of the eighteenth century the most successful Irish political leaders have been men of English race : Grattan and Flood, Wolfe Tone and Emmet, Davis and Mitchel, James Stephens, Parnell, Redmond, Pearse. Even when the men have been entirely of Irish origin, as is the case with O'Connell and Michael Collins, their political ideas have derived from Ascendancy sources.

The Union of 1801 was not at all the decisive moment in Irish history that popular propaganda has made it seem. In one sense Lord Clare was perfectly right when he offered it to the Irish House of Lords as their sole means of protection against " the old inhabitants of the island," whom he graphically depicted as awaiting their hour to recover what they had lost. Though accompanied by the promise of Catholic Emancipation—a promise which was not kept—its real effect was to strengthen and perpetuate the Ascendancy, which had been tottering for ten years before. A second, entirely unlooked-for result was the marshalling of the common people henceforward behind the alternative aims of the new nationalism : Repeal and the Republic. Indecision as between these two aims has been the great mark of Irish politics from that day to this.

Repeal has in recent times taken the form, first of Home Rule and later of Dominion status, but the alternative has remained the same. The indecision, or rather the opportunism, which led the people to embrace with apparent unanimity now the one and now the other, has arisen from the fact that the real objectives of the nation have been all along more fundamental, while of course seldom more than instinctive: Catholic Emancipation, the recovery of the land, and the restoration of the old Irish way of life with all that this implies in tradition, literature, and art. These objectives might be summed up in one phrase: the abolition of the Ascendancy imposed upon Ireland after the Treaty of Limerick in October 1691. It goes without saying that, in the sense of anything like a complete restoration of the past, they are unattainable. Ireland, the home of Oisin, to whose name Macpherson gave a European renown, is also the home of political romanticism. Catholic Emancipation is now over a century old, and the land has for the past fifty years been rapidly passing back into the hands of the people. At the present moment a very powerful effort is being made to revive the Irish language, lost over the greater part of the country during the course of the struggle since the Union. Whether this effort succeeds or fails—and it is likely to do neither completely—it is bound to have the most far-reaching effects on the cultural future of Ireland and, ultimately, on its political future as well.

In another respect also the Union had unforeseen results. It transferred the Irish question to the centre of British politics, where it became inevitably a focus of intense and lasting disturbance. For nearly a generation there was apparently nothing but the profound quiet of exhaustion, but the peace was shattered by O'Connell's election as member of Parliament for Clare in 1828. Catholic Emancipation became at once the question of the hour, its solution a matter of life or death. The old inhabitants of the island had at last gained the first of their objectives; and although much of its value was taken away by electoral devices, it became the starting-point for the great political activities within the framework of the Union. The vast agitation for Repeal was

premature and was defeated not less by the ultimate political incapacity of the people than by O'Connell's notorious unwillingness to shed blood. The famine was the terrible price the nation had to pay for its passivity ; but once more disaster gave the impetus for a fresh advance. It was the sons of the Famine victims who organised the Fenian terror and provided the striking-force in the land agitation. By the seventies another leader of genius, very significantly of English origin, had arisen, who was to triumph over the native ineptitude for politics and to weld republicans and constitutionalists together into the most formidable political organisation Ireland had ever known. Parnell's work was to win the second native victory over Ascendancy, in the form of the Land Acts. It is significant enough that he himself was primarily only little interested in the land agitation and that, while possessed of a towering genius for practical politics, he was unable to give Irish political aspirations more than a vague and tentative form. The discrepancy between Anglo-Irish political and native social aspirations is nowhere more plainly marked. Parnell's achievement more than ever deflected the course of English politics ; the Tory party came for a time to be known as the Unionist party, and if his career had not been cut short the Liberals might very likely have got a new name as the party of Home Rule. The Irish question was henceforth to be the dominant influence on the career of almost every English statesman of note, until by 1914 it had brought Great Britain to the verge of civil war.

After Parnell's death his policy was carried on with much energy and devotion in Parliament, and the Irish question still held the front of the stage. Meanwhile, as if by regular succession, the incipient settlement of the land problem had brought forward in Ireland the third great popular instinct, the desire for the restoration of the old language and way of life. The Gaelic League, founded in 1893, was far more than a piece of linguistic romanticism. It offered to its rapidly growing membership a whole outlook on life, a complete national philosophy which at once embraced and transcended politics, work, sport and leisure of every kind. Never since

the downfall of the old Gaelic order had the native Irishman possessed so satisfying and inspiring an intellectual equipment. Naturally its tendency ran towards the rejection of everything English, but inevitably also it tended to ally itself with the most extreme political doctrines, whose essentially English origin passed unnoticed. It was a great misfortune that it came at least a whole generation too late, for the native language was already gone out of use over the great part of Ireland and everywhere seemed stricken with an incurable decay. None the less it rediscovered the typical Irishman in the Gaelic-speaking peasant of the west, who had still kept alive the language, poetry, music and dance, the characteristic outlook on life and mental idiom of the national past when they were only a remote memory elsewhere. Through him and the living tradition he embodied, which was made clearer and more significant by the intense study of Irish literature, the concept of the Gael became an abiding national ideal and was to have a powerful influence on the politics of the future. Thus the nationalism of the twentieth century was an amalgamation of the two most vigorous forces in Irish life, which had at last come together: the republican doctrine set in motion by Wolfe Tone and inherited by the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the ancient Gaelic consciousness revived and sharpened by the Gaelic League and similar movements subsidiary to it. Of these latter movements the most remarkable was the so-called Irish Literary Renaissance, with its chief product the Abbey Theatre. In this the Anglo-Irish element, most vital representative of the old Ascendancy, borrowed from Ireland's Gaelic past and the living idiom of its peasantry an artistic and literary equivalent for the powerful political impetus it had already lent to the popular cause.

These were the forces fermenting with great and growing vigour in the Ireland of the decade before the Great War. The Easter rebellion of 1916 was their explosion. In the leaders of the rebellion we find at its highest potentiality the blend of Gaelic romanticism and Anglo-Irish political realism, nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in the writings and personality of P. H. Pearse. The rebellion was a foredoomed

enterprise and was explicitly recognised as such by Pearse himself, whose great purpose was to insure that England's hour of difficulty should not pass without Ireland's striking a blow for freedom. It might have led to the collapse for a long period of all national effort save for the entire lack of statesmanlike wisdom with which it was handled. But the combination of Gaelicism with republican doctrine was in any case probably too strong a force to be easily nullified, especially as the English will to resist had been broken by the pressure of the Irish question on its nerve-centre for three generations. As things turned out, the rebellion was merely the opening act in a dogged struggle for independence, which found in Michael Collins, a man of pure Gaelic stock, probably the most remarkable man of action the Gaelic race has ever produced. It was the nerve and tenacity of Collins, his ruthless realism and his genius for underground organisation that prevented this struggle from ending in the accustomed defeat. Instead it ended in a moral victory and a *de facto* compromise. Ireland did not gain entire freedom as a republic, but she secured complete equality of status with Great Britain as a member of the Commonwealth. Next to Collins, the author of this settlement was Arthur Griffith, inventor of the Sinn Fein name and policy, a man who had never advocated physical force and whose own political ideal was the restoration of the Kingdom of Ireland as defined by the Act of Renunciation of 1783. In the rapid development of Irish politics since 1900 Griffith had occupied a position of peculiar isolation but of very high prestige, midway between that of the extreme republicans and that of the Irish Party with its policy of Home Rule. He owed his advantage over the latter to his more overt sympathy with the Gaelic ideal and to his supreme competence as a political journalist.

Dominion status was much more than Home Rule, but it fell short in form of either Griffith's Kingdom or the 1916 Republic. The greatest weakness of the settlement was however, not its form but the fact that it recognised partition. The division of Ireland into two States was already an accomplished fact by the Home Rule Act of 1920. It represented the same sort

of consolidation in defence of the Ascendancy that had been sought in the Parliamentary Union of a century before. Just as at the Union the Ascendancy had found itself compelled to abandon its short-lived pretension to constitute an Irish nation and to take refuge in Westminster so as to preserve its property and privileges, so now it saw itself forced to abandon the entire south of Ireland and to take refuge, not in the whole province of Ulster, but in an area carefully chosen in order to give its privileges a democratic basis. The six counties of Antrim, Down, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh and Armagh had been in the seventeenth century the seat of two important colonisations: the one organised by King James the First's government in Derry, the other a movement of popular immigration from Scotland into Antrim and Down. Both were strongly Protestant, and in the course of repeated confiscations they spread a Protestant stratum over the remaining three counties. In no case, of course, was the native population wiped out; it was simply deprived of its land and driven into the bogs and mountains or retained here and there as a semi-servile labouring element. What really consolidated this area as a racial and religious entity was the prodigious growth during the nineteenth century as a manufacturing centre of the city of Belfast, which now holds nearly half the total population of Northern Ireland. This population is of very varied origin, and has received frequent accretions from the immigrant workers of Lancashire as well as from Scotland. Yet in its essential character it is as Irish as any part of the country; the strong native nucleus, numbering over one-third of the whole, has imprinted upon it the native stamp as so often before. Anyone who cares to listen to the broadcasts from the Belfast wireless station can judge this for himself, and can learn also how powerful a hold ancient native tradition and the long Gaelic history of the area has upon its modern inhabitants in spite of their conscious reactions.

Exactly as did the Ascendancy Parliament in the eighteenth century, the parliamentary majority in present-day Northern Ireland constantly proclaims itself a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people. The latter part of the proclamation

bears a little more resemblance to reality now than it did then ; but it is still far from expressing the whole truth of the matter. What is expressed by the formula as a whole is the persistence in Northern Ireland of the Ascendancy mind. Nothing could be more superficial than to translate, as is so regularly done, the constant professions of what is called " loyalty " in Belfast into any stronger allegiance to fundamental British interests in the North than exists in the South of Ireland. In both parts of the country political conditions and sentiments are only intelligible in the light of a peculiar history. Loyalty in Northern Ireland means quite simply what it meant all over Ireland in the eighteenth century : attachment to the Hanoverian settlement as expressed in Irish terms, which in fact means the Ascendancy. As has repeatedly been proved, the British connection as such is valued only in so far as it is identical with the interests of the predominant group. It is also a mistake to suppose that this loyalty is a deep and widespread popular sentiment, even among those who support the *status quo*. On the contrary, popular support for it is secured by certain propagandist methods, perfected in Northern Ireland long before they were thought of by the European dictatorships. It is worth emphasising, on the other hand, that this attachment to the principles of the Revolution of 1688 is met in the South by a much less conscious but equally fundamental opposition to those principles—which is the great reason for the lack of sympathy or loyalty to the ruling dynasty that sometimes shocks British observers.

This historically-conditioned absence of reverence for institutions felt to be not merely foreign but highly antipathetic, coupled with a corresponding absence of all native institutions except those connected with religion and the family, go far between them to explain the peculiar course of events in Ireland since 1921. At first Dominion status was accepted with some enthusiasm by the great majority, but it was accepted not as something positive but as the temporary *de jure* expression of actual freedom. The inevitable policy of Irish statesmen has been, so far as possible, to bring theory into harmony with the Irish view of the facts. In this respect Mr. de

Valera's recent legislation, for all its apparently revolutionary character, has been simply a continuance of work done by his opponents, Kevin O'Higgins and Mr. McGilligan. Irishmen may dispute among themselves as to whether the formal status thus gained, which is inevitably still one of compromise, is worth all it has cost in strife and internal division of opinion. It is quite unthinkable that any Irish government will ever accept a lesser status. On the contrary, the tendency will continue to be one of working towards the position of internationally recognised political independence, while preserving the economic bonds whose value and necessity to both countries is gradually emerging into a clearer light.

The ease with which the transformation of Saorstát Éireann into Éire was carried out may perhaps also give ground for hoping that the further political evolution of Hiberno-British relations will be a smooth one. Whatever may be thought of the new Irish Constitution, it seems to offer a fresh and more favourable opportunity for the growth of those elements for a stable polity to the lack of which in Ireland attention has already been drawn in this paper. By far the greatest danger of disturbance now comes, as has been indicated, from the partition of the country. The so-called " minority " in Northern Ireland are merely a part of the enormous majority in the whole historic nation who have been singled out by the ineptitude of English statesmen for a kind of deliberate and often violent persecution unknown elsewhere in the whole area of the British Commonwealth. What is called mob violence in Northern Ireland is the unique work of the political organisation to which the Government of Northern Ireland owes its power. It may be that the occupation of Northern Ireland is looked upon by British military authorities as a vital guarantee for the safety of the Empire in an eventual world war. To anyone really familiar with the history of Ireland for the past half-century it is fairly obvious that on the contrary this occupation may well constitute the Empire's greatest danger.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

FATHER PETER WADDING, S.J.

Chancellor of the University of Prague 1629–1641

BY PAUL O'DEA, S.J.

TOWARDS the end of the sixteenth century there lived in Waterford city three brothers named Wadding—Thomas, Walter and William—whose children were a remarkable group. It is of them that Fr. Edmund Hogan, S.J., writes: "I have never read of any one family, in Ireland or out of it, that could equal that of the Waddings for the highest gifts of intellect." Of the sons of Thomas three at least—Peter, Luke and Michael—became Jesuits; and a fourth was probably the Thomas Wadding who was born in Waterford in 1594 and entered the Society of Jesus in Spain in 1610, but died five years later at Valladolid at the early age of twenty-one. It is also possible that there were two other brothers Jesuits, Daniel and Walter. Of the fourteen children of Walter Wadding the most celebrated was the eleventh, the great Franciscan Luke Wadding, who was born in 1588. Another was Ambrose, born in 1583, who became a Jesuit and taught philosophy in Dillingen, Bavaria, where he died prematurely at the age of thirty-five. Of the sisters, two became the mothers of two celebrated Franciscans, Bartholomew Barron and Francis Harold. And finally there was Richard Wadding, an Augustinian, who was for many years professor of theology in the University of Coimbra in Portugal. He may have been a son of William, as he is mentioned by Father Hogan as a cousin of Peter the Jesuit and by Father Gregory Cleary as a cousin of Luke the Franciscan.

I

Peter Wadding was born at Waterford in the year 1583. He studied classics for seven years in Ireland; but at what school and under what masters we are not told—possibly at Flahy's school in Waterford or at Peter White's in Kilkenny.

Then, at the age of fourteen, he left Ireland for Douai, where he studied classics for two more years and philosophy for two years, completing his course with the degree of Master of Arts. On the 24 October 1601, at the age of eighteen, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Tournai in Belgium. After a novitiate of two years and, apparently, some further study of philosophy, he taught the class of poetry and the class of rhetoric for three or four years in a Jesuit college. Then, in 1608, he began his four years study of theology and, on 18 October 1609, was ordained priest. In an account of eight Irish Jesuits then in Belgium, which was sent to Rome in 1611 by Father Francis Florentin, we find the following appreciation of Peter Wadding: "He is in his twenty-eight year, has been ten years in the Order, and is in his third year of theology. His health is now pretty good. He is a man of remarkable talent, judgment and virtue, and is fit for all offices in the Society; he will be a good preacher and a good superior; and he is gifted with conversational power. As he is a man of great promise, it seems desirable that he should complete his theological studies at Louvain before he is sent to Ireland or destined for anything else."

Peter Wadding, however, was never destined to see Ireland again. In the year 1613, when he had just finished his theological course, his fate seems to have been in the balance. It would appear that there was something of a contest for the possession of him between, on the one hand, the Jesuit superiors in Belgium who wished to keep the brilliant young theologian as a professor and, on the other hand, no less a person than Hugh O'Neill, the exiled Earl of Tyrone then residing in Rome, who wished to secure his services for the Irish mission. On the 19 January 1613, the General of the Society writes to the Provincial of Flanders: "The Earl of Tyrone has signified to us that he desires Father Peter Wadding or Father John Bermingham to be sent to Rouen to abide there, as it is a convenient place from which business can be transacted. We think so too, yet want to know your opinion. But send a father at once." Seven days later, on January 26, he writes again to the same: "Father Peter Wadding is to

be sent to Bordeaux to look after the affairs of our Irish mission." On March 30 he writes to Father Wadding at Louvain: "We have weighed the reasons and difficulties your Reverence has put before us as to your going to Rouen, whither we were sending you at the request chiefly of my Lord Earl of Tyrone, and we have been edified by the virtue of your Reverence. We are writing to the Provincial, and if he judges it useful, go to Rouen at once and thus satisfy my Lord Earl. We shall not fail to recommend Irish youths for reception into the Society by the Provincial of Flanders and others." The General writes to the Provincial of Flanders: "Though you say that Father Wadding is well occupied, yet all must give way before the welfare of the Irish mission. But if his presence at Rouen is not necessary, Father Wadding can satisfy the Lord Earl of Tyrone by a just excuse." Finally, on June 8, the General writes to Dr. Christopher Cusac, founder and president of the Irish College of Douai: "I should like to gratify your desire that Fathers Lombard and Wadding should not be removed from Belgium, and for the reasons you allege: that Father Lombard is useful at Antwerp and that Father Wadding should be encouraged in his studies. But the first is wanted in Ireland and the second must, perhaps, be removed to another country."

II

Victory remained with the advocates of Belgium, where Peter was to remain for sixteen more years; though another attempt to get him to Ireland seems to have been made in 1620. On the 24 December of that year the General writes to Father Holiwood, Superior in Ireland: "Fathers Peter Wadding and John Plunkett are to be sent to you from Belgium." But in the margin of the draft of the letter is written: "Since the letter was sent, your Reverence has heard that Father Wadding, by reason of other occupations, cannot go." During these years Father Wadding taught philosophy and theology. From the Flandro-Belgic catalogue for 1628 we learn that, between the end of his theological studies and the beginning of that year, he had taught philosophy for four

years, moral theology for five years, and scholastic theology for seven years. The last seven years teaching were almost certainly at Louvain; the catalogues name him as professor of theology at that place in 1622, 1625, and 1628. The teaching of philosophy was probably done at Utrecht—and probably in the years 1612-1616; he was certainly a professor in the Jesuit College of that city in 1615. The five years teaching of moral theology probably took place at Antwerp from 1616-1621; at least that period of teaching must have begun about 1616; and he was certainly professing at Antwerp in 1620 and 1621. Bishop Rothe of Kilkenny, in his *Vindiciae Hiberniae* published in 1621, addresses him thus: "You, Peter Wadding, did long profess divine and human letters with the admiration of your hearers; and now Antwerp embraces you as Prefect over both faculties." And on the 8 June 1621, in the Antwerp Jesuit College, Peter Darcy, an Irishman, defended a number of theses on Grace and Predestination in a public theological disputation held under the Presidency of Father Peter Wadding, S.J. Probably in that year or 1622 he went on to Louvain.

To this Antwerp period of his life belongs an incident, our knowledge of which is due to a Protestant source. In 1620 there resided in Antwerp one Simon Bischop, or Episcopius, one of the leaders of the Arminians in the great controversy between the Arminian and the Gomarist parties of the Dutch Protestants.[1] After the condemnation of the Arminians at Dordrecht, in 1618-19, Episcopius was forced to leave Holland, and came to Antwerp. Here, on the 17 February 1620, he received a visit from Peter Wadding. "He told me," says Episcopius, "he came at the request of the Dean of the Church of the Blessed Virgin; that he had heard about my discourse at the Synod of Dordrecht from a

[1] The Gomarists adhered to the Calvinist doctrine of the absolute pre-destination of some men to salvation, others to damnation, without any reference to their merits or demerits. The Arminians (so called from their leader Jacobus Arminius, or Jakob Hermanyoon) revolted against this doctrine. They taught that Christ died for all men; that God decreed from eternity the salvation of those who by the grace of the Holy Spirit would believe in Him, and who by the same grace would persevere to the end in faith and obedience; that He would condemn only those who refused to believe and be converted. The Gomarists triumphed at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618-1619, at which the Arminians were condemned.

Scotchman who was present." Apparently these reports had excited hopes of Episcopius's conversion; and this was the object of Father Wadding's visit. This first conference lasted two hours. Wadding, Episcopius tells us, said, amongst other things: "I am ready to lay before you the Catholic doctrines so clearly that a woman would understand them . . . . He would like to send me books and other things to enlighten me, and when he spoke of his 'theses,' I knew he was Peter Wadding." Other meetings took place on June 30 and October 10—this last continuing from 10 a.m. till the shades of evening put an end to the colloquy. Wadding apparently proposed a public disputation in the presence of the Bishop, which Episcopius declined. Wadding seems to have written two controversial letters to the refugee professor: one on the Rule of Faith and the other on the worship of images. At any rate, five years after the deaths of Episcopius and Wadding, which both took place in 1644, there was published at Amsterdam, in Dutch, a book called "Two Letters of the Learned Peter Wadding: the one on the Rule of Faith, the other on the Veneration of Images; answered by the honourable God-fearing Simon Episcopius; translated out of the Latin into Dutch by Nicholas Borremans." The Protestant writer Bayle, referring to the incident, says that Episcopius "disputed with great vigour against Peter Wadding, an Irish Jesuit, who did him a thousand kindnesses and who, taking advantage of his discontent, endeavoured to draw him into the Catholic Church."[1]

III

The year 1629 begins a new phase in Peter Wadding's career. In that year he succeeded Father Adam Tanner, S.J. as Professor of Theology and Chancellor of the University of Prague. Father Tanner (1571-1632) was one of the most celebrated of the Jesuit theologians of that period. The fact

[1] Our knowledge of what took place at these conferences is derived from Episcopius's account, which is contained in *Praestantium Virorum Epistulae* (published at Amsterdam) pp. 603-613, and from a letter of another Protestant, Poellemburg, in the same volume, giving an account of the "celebrated disputation . . . . which Episcopius had with the theologian of the Roman Pontiff." Father Hogan gives some brief quotations from the first in the *Journal of the Waterford Archaeological Society*, Vol. 3, p. 187.

that Wadding was chosen by his superiors to succeed such a man, and in so important a post, is a proof of the reputation he had by that time acquired.

Wadding, in his new position, found himself in the centre of stirring events. The Thirty Years War, inaugurated in 1618 by the revolt of the Bohemian Protestants against their Hapsburg king, who was also the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand the Second, had then continued for eleven years. Up to that time victory had lain with the Emperor and his allies; and his triumph had meant a victory for the Catholic cause. But the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and the defection from the Emperor of the Lutheran Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony caused a turn of the tide.

In 1631 the Catholic forces were defeated at Breitenfeld; in October of that year an army of Lutheran Saxons invaded Bohemia and in November occupied Prague. The Jesuits, in common with other Catholic ecclesiastics and religious and many nobles and citizens, took refuge in flight. Wadding went to Olmutz in Moravia, where he was immediately made Chancellor of the University. But his stay there was short. In May 1632, the imperial general Wallenstein recovered Prague and Bohemia, and Wadding returned to his former post. The property of the Jesuit College had, in the interval, suffered severely at the hands of Protestant looters. Amongst the benefactors who assisted them on their return, mention is made of Colonel Walter Butler, then serving in the imperial army. At a later stage of the war, in 1639, Prague was again besieged by a Swedish army under Baner. Schmidl, the historian of the Bohemian Jesuits, records that on this occasion five hundred students of the Jesuit college took part in the defence and were eight days under arms.

There was another source of difficulty for Father Wadding, which affected him more closely: the very post which he had been called upon to occupy was a subject of controversy. To understand the position it is necessary to go back to events which had occurred before his coming to Prague. There were in that city two universities: one was the old university founded in 1345 by Charles IV and known from the name

of its founder as the Carolina ; the other was the Jesuit college founded in 1556 by the Emperor Ferdinand I. It included, besides the classes of grammar, poetry and rhetoric, also philosophy and theology ; and had received from the Emperor, in 1562, the right of conferring degrees. It was known as the Clementina from the abbey of St. Clemens near which it was situated or as the Ferdinandea, from the name of its founder. In 1623 a union of the two universities took place by order of the Emperor Ferdinand II ; control of the Carolina, with its nine colleges and all the rights and revenues of these, was handed over to the Jesuits ; whoever was Rector of the Jesuit college was also to be Rector or Chancellor of the united university, the Carolo-Ferdinandea ; the right of giving degrees, of holding the Chancellorship, and of appointing the secular professors was also granted to the Jesuits. It was in this post of Chancellor of the united university that Wadding succeeded Father Tanner.

This union of the universities, however, gave rise to difficulties, especially with the new Archbishop of Prague, Count Ernest Adalbert von Harrach, who became Archbishop in 1624 at the early age of twenty-six, was made Cardinal two years later, and ruled the archdiocese till 1667. This distinguished man and great protagonist of Catholic reform, who had himself been educated by the Jesuits, first in Bohemia and later at the German college in Rome, was opposed to the union of the universities and to the separation of the chancellorship from the archiepiscopal dignity, though he seems to have remained on friendly terms with the Jesuits. The Emperor, however, insisted on maintaining the union. In 1631, two years after Wadding had taken up his post, the Congregation of Propaganda decided that the Cardinal-Archbishop should be Chancellor and should choose as Vice-Chancellor any Jesuit whom he wished. The Jesuit-General, however, wrote that the whole thing should be given up, rather than that such arbitrary selection should be allowed. Meanwhile writings appeared attacking the Jesuits and accusing them of having excluded the Archbishop from the chancellorship—amongst them a pamphlet by Gaspar Schopp

published anonymously. In 1634 Wadding published a reply to this work under the title "Brevis Refutatio Calumniarum quas Collegio Societatis Jesu Pragensi impegit Scriptor famosi libelli cui titulus *Flagellum Jesuiticum*, praesertim in negotio Academiae Pragensis." In this work, which was published with the approbation of the Jesuit-General and of Cardinal von Harrach, Wadding says that the Cardinal declared he had nothing to complain of on the part of our fathers with regard to the Chancellorship. The works of the anonymous scribe were censured at Rome and burned at Madrid by the common hangman, while the author was expelled from Austrian and Roman soil.

In 1633 it is recorded that Wadding, as Chancellor of the Ferdinandea University, created two men doctors of divinity, but that in the documents he abstained from using the title owing to the dispute as to the Chancellorship of the Carolina University. Meanwhile the Cardinal-Archbishop had taken steps, with the consent of the Emperor, to found an archiepiscopal seminary to remedy the lack of good and capable priests, which was the greatest hindrance to the progress of the Catholic reform. For professors for the new institute, the Collegium Adalbertinum, he turned to the Irish Franciscans, who in 1629 had founded a house of their province in Prague, and in 1635 the college was opened with Father Malachy Fallon occupying the chair of theology.[1] In 1638 the Archbishop obtained from Rome, for his seminary, the power of conferring degrees, while the Carolina University was forbidden to do so. This roused the Emperor Ferdinand III, who had succeeded Ferdinand II in the previous year and who was as obstinate as his father in maintaining his right to decide who should be Chancellor. "On the 11th of July of that year," says Father Hogan, summarising Schmidl's account, "he came to Prague, told our fathers that certain Regulars had tried to get Rome to prohibit our fathers from conferring degrees. He ordered them to confer degrees in his presence—which, after the preliminary examinations,

[1] See "The Irish Franciscans in Prague," by Father Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., in STUDIES, June 1939.

was done on the 29th of July and the 30th of August, as the Roman interdict did not touch our Ferdinand University. Wadding conferred the highest degrees. Among those who defended theses publicly were Count Martinitz, son of the Viceroy of Bohemia, and Count von Kolovrat." In the same year, however, the Emperor removed from Jesuit control the rights, properties, and archives of the Carolina, together with the faculties of law and medicine, making them once more independent under an imperial protector.

But Wadding's share in the trouble was drawing to a close. Under the year 1641 Schmidl records that " the Emperor ordered the magistrates to prevent (by arms if necessary) the conferring of degrees in the Seminary. The Cardinal was much annoyed at this; but when he found how we (the Jesuits) had nothing to do with such orders, he continued his favour towards us. As there seemed some hope of the Academic controversy being arranged with his Eminence and as Father Wadding, Chancellor of the Ferdinandea University, had been hitherto the strongest athlete on the side of our scholastic rights and was the object of the dislike of the opposite party, the General, while not doubting of his integrity and innocence, yet fearing lest his presence should trouble the expected peace, ordered his removal from Prague. So on the 3 July 1641 he left for Gratz, to the very great grief of our fathers and of all the students, and even of the chief nobles of Bohemia, to whom he was very much endeared." He was succeeded as Chancellor by Father Arriaga, S.J., a Spaniard.[1]

Some other items concerning Wadding's activities in these years, 1629-1641, are mentioned by the historian of the Bohemian province. " In 1629, the *Contractus Salis*, entered into between the Emperor and the Pope, gave rise to great controversy; and in manuscript and in print, as well as in

[1] To conclude the story of the university controversy, we may mention here that a settlement was finally arrived at in 1654, ten years after Wadding's death. The two universities were again united as the Carolo-Ferdinandea and placed under the Archbishop as Chancellor. Father Nolitor, S.J., became Rector. The Jesuits retained all the professorships in the philosophical and theological faculties, and continued to hold them till 1757.

talk, our fathers were blamed for not taking an active part in the matter. On Wadding as Dean of the theological faculty was laid the task of answering our opponents, and in 1629 he published anonymously his *Disceptatio Placida* . . . . in which he cautiously and prudently defended the acts of the Pope and Emperor and refuted the calumnies of the enemies of the Society." This opusculum of Wadding's is in the archives of the College of Prague of the Abbey of St. Saviours. In 1630 he was made assessor to the Archiepiscopal Consistorium, and in December of that year was declared "Consistorial Theologian"—being the first Jesuit in Bohemia to hold that title. In 1633 he was a member of the third Provincial Congregation of the Bohemian Jesuit province, and was one of the two "Deputati" chosen to examine the "Postulata," the other being a Silesian. In 1634 his treatise on the Incarnation, to which we shall refer again, was published at Antwerp. In 1637, at the obsequies for the Emperor Ferdinand II in the Metropolitan Church of Prague, Wadding preached the funeral oration before the assembled nobles of the kingdom. On the feast of St. Aloysius of that year, the new Emperor Ferdinand III assisted at High Mass in the Jesuit church, then went to the dining hall, where Wadding made him an address of welcome, and afterwards dined with the community. In 1639 died Colonel Walter Devereux, an officer of the Emperor's army, who with Butler and Fitzgerald had taken part in the killing of Wallenstein.[1] After the death of Wallenstein he devoted himself to a more devout life, was very much with our fathers, but was particularly intimate with Father Wadding, his Irish countryman, to whom he left a good legacy. It is also recorded that Colonel Butler at his death left to Father Wadding 3,000 "Imperials" to be distributed to the Irish poor travelling through Prague, as well as a large sum to the Irish Franciscans in Prague. In 1640, on the occasion of the celebrations for the centenary of the foundation of the Society, "a crown was put to this first day by Father Wadding, Chancellor of our Ferdinand University, in a splendid Latin speech on the blessings con-

[1] See article "Wallenstein and Butler" in STUDIES, December 1934.

ferred by God on our Society in the first hundred years of its existence."

V

Wadding spent the remaining years of his life (1641-44) at Gratz in Styria, where he taught Canon Law at the University. In 1642 the Jesuit superior in Ireland wrote to the General, that two of the principal fathers there had died (one, Father Lombard of Waterford, was a relative of Wadding); while another, Father Walsh of Waterford (a cousin of Wadding), was dying. He, therefore, asked that two other Waterford men should be sent to take their places, either Father Peter Wadding from Bohemia or his brother Luke from Salamanca or Father Paul Sherlock, also from Salamanca. But Wadding remained at Gratz. There in the year of his death, 1644, he published his second principal theological work, *De Contractibus*. It is a quarto volume of 754 pages, on the title page of which is inscribed: "Tractat. de contractib. in genere et in specie, authore R. P. Petro Wadingo, Waterfordiensi Hiberno e Socte Jesu, S.S. Theol. doctore et ejusdem olim in variis universitatibus, nunc vero sacrorum canonum, Graecii, professore." It is dedicated, in a poetical Latin epistle which fills seven pages, to Von Martinitz, Chancellor of the kingdom of Bohemia. As a specimen of his skill in this kind of composition, and also as giving a glimpse of the man, it is worthy of quotation if space allowed.

This is a convenient place to say something of his writings. We have already mentioned the *Brevis Refutatio*, the *Disceptatio Placida*, and the two epistles to Bischop (Episcopius). Some other minor writings are "Carmina varia et alia spectantia ad Disciplinas Humaniores" and an "Oratio Pragae dicta in Ferdinandi III, Ratisbonensibus Comitiis in Caesarem electi, inauguratione." But, besides the *De Contractibus*, he published only one other important work: "*Tractatus de Incarnatione*, Rev. P. Petri Wadingi, Waterfordiensis Hiberni S.J., S. Theologiae Doctoris, olim in Lovaniensi nunc in Pragensi Academia Professoris"—a quarto volume of 660 pages published at Antwerp in 1634. He left

besides some thirty-six treatises in manuscript, which are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. These would represent the material accumulated and prepared during his long years of teaching ; for, like many of the professors of that time, he probably taught, in the course of his career, almost the whole round of treatises of philosophy and theology. Possibly, if he had remained in the quieter atmosphere of Louvain, he might have prepared more of these for publication. His treatise on the Incarnation was highly appreciated in its time ; Father Arriaga, his successor at Prague and well-known for his eight-volume *Cursus Theologicus*, frequently cites him beside Suarez and Lugo—the latter was born in the same year (1583) as Wadding and was a professor during the same period (1611-1644).

Father Wadding died at Gratz on 13 September 1644 at the age of sixty-one. The old historian of the Bohemian province, Schmidl, gives an eulogy of him under the year 1641 : " This man excelled in all kinds of learning . . . . With constancy he defended the rights of the Ferdinandea and the Carolina universities against prolonged attacks, relying on the justice of his cause and on God, with Whom he communed constantly in prayer. To the last he practised great austerities, and distinguished himself by his spirit of humility and of obedience to his superiors. In his conversation were combined a strength and suavity which enabled him to insinuate his holy thoughts into other minds. Afflicted for a long time with a painful ulceration of his feet, he bore his sufferings not only with invincible patience but also with joy." The University of Prague placed a portrait of him in the dining hall, where it was still to be seen in 1759, when Schmidl wrote : at Gratz University there was in 1694 a medallion-portrait of him in a place of the library set apart for Canon Law.[1]

PAUL O'DEA

[1] This account of Father Peter Wadding is drawn mainly from the articles by Fr. Edmund Hogan, S.J., in the *Journal of the Waterford Archaeological Society* (Volumes III and IV), in which he has collected, from a variety of sources, the scanty information that survives concerning this distinguished son of Waterford. Further details might have been available if it had been possible to consult *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu* by A. Kröss, S.J., Vol. II (Vienna, 1927). The work by Schmidl, to which frequent reference has been made, is *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciae Bohemiae* (Pragae, 1747-49).

THE FINANCIAL POLICY OF DR. SALAZAR *

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

STUDENTS of sociology in all parts of the world have devoted considerable attention to the new Constitution of Portugal. An extensive literature has appeared dealing with the political reconstruction and economic progress of the country. To mention works in the English language alone, there are *Economic Planning in Corporative Portugal*[1] by Freppel Cotta, *The Portugal of Salazar*[2] by Michael Derrick, *Salazar · Portugal and her Leader*[3] by Antonio Ferro, and the volume of Dr. Salazar's speeches entitled *Doctrine and Action.*[4] Ample material is available for forming an opinion regarding the new corporative State which has evoked widespread admiration, especially in Catholic circles. The general direction of Portuguese policy and the structure of the corporative framework are commonly known, although the degree of public intervention and control tends to be popularly exaggerated. The aim of the present paper is to examine the detailed working of Dr. Salazar's financial administration in the eleven years between his acceptance of the office of Minister for Finance and the outbreak of war.

Economic theory always needs to be examined in relation to its practical application. It is easier to make idealistic aspirations than to translate them into practice. Anybody who has had the experience of acting on commissions of inquiry into economic matters is familiar with the utopian schemes which fail to pass the test of practical applicability. Prophets and visionaries are far more numerous than the social engineers who are necessary if the bright goals, so easily described, are to be successfully reached. The Portuguese

* This article is based mainly on the following authorities: *Portugal's Financial Reconstruction* by T. W. Fernandez (Editions S.P.N., Lisbon 1936); a long summary, in *The Times* of 2nd May 1938, of a comprehensive survey of Dr. Salazar's first ten years of office by Dr. Araujo Correia; and the Reports on Economic and Social Conditions in Portugal issued at intervals by the British Department of Overseas Trade. All figures are expressed in sterling converted from the Portuguese currency at the prevailing rate of exchange.

[1] King, 1938. [2] Sands, 1938. [3] Faber, 1939. [4] Faber, 1939.

Constitution of 1933, like the Irish Constitution of 1937, gives expression to many noble ideological principles. In Ireland, unfortunately, those principles have been but partly translated into practice by legislation. In Portugal, likewise, the actual measures that have been taken in practice have been less original and less revolutionary than the principles enunciated in the Constitution. "The ideology of the New State is necessarily somewhat fixed in character, for its principles possess the immutability of virtues. But the execution of the idea is tentative and exploratory in character."[1] The concrete measures that have been taken in Portugal find numerous parallels in the recent history of Great Britain, the United States and other countries, which are in no way committed to corporatism. What makes Portugal so interesting a study for the economist is that the idealist was responsible for translating his ideals into practice. When presenting Dr. Salazar for the Honorary Degree of D.C.L. of the University of Oxford, the public orator "referred to the well-known complaint against scholars, that, while excellent theorists are common, few could apply their theories in action. Oxford was therefore the more delighted to honour those rare scholars who had brought their learning from the cool shades of the cloister into the dust and heat of the arena of affairs. Among those few was Dr. Salazar, statesman no less than savant, and as both pre-eminent, *vir scilicet πρακτικός haud minus quam Θεωρητικός et in utroque genere praestantissimus.*"[2]

Public finance was Dr. Salazar's particular study in academic life, and he has made it the central feature of his programme of economic reconstruction. "The financial problem is the one that, owing to its pre-eminence, would affect and control the solution of all other problems."[3] On the success of Dr. Salazar's policy there are no two opinions. It is unnecessary to push an open door by extensive quotations to prove what is generally admitted. Three extracts from *The Times* are typical of the praise which his achievements

[1] Report of Department of Overseas Trade, August 1938, p. 2.
[2] *The Times*, 21st April 1941. [3] *Doctrine and Action*, p. 74.

have aroused in informed circles outside his own country, which are not prejudiced by ideological predilections. The first appeared on 13th March 1935 : " Dr. Salazar's record is surely one of which any country might be proud, and which marks him as one of the greatest Finance Ministers of modern times." The second extract is from the issue of 29th April 1938 : " A country which had only balanced its Budget twice since 1854 has enjoyed ten successive surpluses. The floating debt has been extinguished. The currency is stable. The public services have been vastly improved. Good roads have taken the place of cart tracks ; new schools and important public works have been constructed. Unemployment has been greatly diminished and valuable social reforms have been introduced by this modest statesman who has made ' to study in doubt, to realize in faith ' his motto." The third extract appeared on 7th May 1940 : " It is not often that a country has for the head of its Government a professor of economics who, having sound theories, is given *carte blanche* to put them into practice. This has been the lot of Portugal, and among well-informed opinion there is unanimous agreement on the benefits which the country has derived from Dr. Salazar's financial and economic policy."

It must be remembered that the early years of Dr. Salazar's administration coincided with the world depression, when many richer countries experienced crises of the first magnitude. The Report of the Department for Overseas Trade on Portugal issued in 1938 states that " Portugal has achieved more during a decade of world-wide difficulties than in a century of comparative peace," and attributes this success to " orthodox financial administration, accompanied by continuity of policy, integrity and firmness of purpose." The reference to the orthodoxy of the financial administration of Portugal is worth emphasis as there is a widespread belief, certainly in Ireland and possibly elsewhere, that Dr. Salazar has resorted to novel monetary and financial devices. This belief is contradicted by Dr. Salazar, who states that " the financial reform carried out in Portugal is far less novel and revolutionary than certain experiments made elsewhere to-day ;

its unique characteristic is that it was both orthodox and adapted to Portuguese habits and institutions."[1] *The Economist* declares that "Portugal's stern financial and economic policy in the early years of the dictatorship would certainly have earned the praise of the strictest practitioner of Gladstonian finance."[2]

The financial history of Portugal, prior to the advent of Dr. Salazar, had been deplorable. During the first half of the nineteenth century, invasion, civil war and party-strife had financially exhausted the country. About 1850 an honest effort was made to restore order in the public finances, and in 1854 the Budget was balanced. Between that year and the coming into power of Dr. Salazar the Budget was unbalanced every year except 1913 and 1914. Between 1852 and 1890, £127,000,000 was borrowed, of which no more than £68,000,000 reached the Treasury, so low were the issue prices and so high the commissions paid to middlemen. An unfavourable balance of payments had been allowed to develop owing to colonial expenditure and foreign borrowing. These unsound practices reaped their inevitable reward in 1891 when, owing to the reduction in value of remittances from Brazil caused by the depreciation of the Brazilian milreis and to the temporary embarrassment of Baring Brothers, the Government's London bankers, an acute financial crisis took place. As an emergency measure the convertibility of the escudo into gold was suspended, but, as so often happens in such cases, the inconvertibility outlasted the emergency and the escudo was not relinked to gold for forty years. Gold coins went out of circulation either to be hoarded or exported, the note circulation was expanded fourfold, and the escudo depreciated on the exchange market.

In the early years of the present century the condition of the public finances continued to be most unsound, and the disastrous administration of the public purse was one of the grievances that led to the downfall of the monarchy. After the proclamation of the republic in 1910 an attempt was made to reform the financial system, and surpluses were

[1] *Doctrine and Action*, p. 16. [2] 13th May 1939.

shown in 1913 and 1914. The war period was characterized by inflation and borrowing. The State debt to the Bank of Portugal, which in 1913 amounted to 71,000,000 escudos, had risen, through the working of the printing press, to 228,000,000 escudos in 1918 and to 1,700,000,000 escudos in 1924. In the post-war years the average deficit was about £4,700,000, this being met partly by Treasury Bills issued at 7 or 8 per cent. and discounted at 10 or 11 per cent. The escudo steadily depreciated during those years. In 1919 the £ was worth 18 escudos and in 1924 it was worth 158. As a result of this depreciation capital fled from the country. It is estimated that over £80,000,000 was transferred for this reason. In 1927 the Government made an effort to raise a loan of £12,000,000 with the assistance of the League of Nations, but the conditions insisted upon by the League were felt to be so humiliating to Portuguese pride that the negotiations fell through.

This was the situation with which Dr. Salazar was faced when he became Minister of Finance. The new Minister, who made it a condition of his appointment that he should be allowed to balance the budget, laid down the four following principles as prerequisite to his acceptance of office :—

1. Each Ministerial department to limit and organise its services within the lump sum allocated to it by the Ministry of Finance ;

2. All measures other Ministers intended to take, which might affect the revenue or the expenditure of the State, to be previously discussed and approved by the Minister of Finance ;

3. The Minister of Finance to have the power of vetoing any increase in ordinary or current expenditure as well as any development expenditure for which the indispensable credit operation had not been provided ;

4. The Ministry of Finance to co-operate with the other Ministries in the adoption of measures for the reduction of expenditure or the collection of revenue, in order that they be as far as possible of an uniform type.

Three months after his entry into office, Dr. Salazar published his first budget in which he estimated for a surplus of £14,500. Additional taxes were imposed on sugar, petrol and illuminating oil. The urban and rural property taxes were increased, and surtaxes were imposed on many of the existing taxes. In view of the poverty of the country these increases were very severe, and the readiness of the taxpayers to make the necessary sacrifices was described by Dr. Salazar as " heroic." At the same time drastic economies in expenditure were effected. Many services connected with social welfare and education suffered a reduction, but the principle of balancing the budget took precedence of every other consideration. The system of presenting the public accounts was reformed, particular attention being paid to the separation of ordinary and extraordinary revenue and expenditure. A period of three years was set by the Government for the reconstruction of the financial system, during which rigid restrictions on expenditure were observed. Efforts were made to increase external trade by abolishing all but a fragment of the existing exchange control. It is noteworthy that Portugal was one of the few countries that did not resort to highly protective and autarkic measures during the years of depression. The tariff, which was reformed in 1930, was moderate and only mildly protective, and exchange control was removed at the earliest possible opportunity. The Portuguese balance of trade deteriorated because of this liberal policy, but that was regarded as a lesser evil than trade restriction and exchange control. Dr. Salazar has expressed the belief that " the extreme protection which we see spreading everywhere is a serious mistake."[1] The end of the first financial year of the new régime revealed a surplus of £2,624,000 against the estimated one of £14,500. This large surplus was used to repay the floating debt and part of the internal debt.

Another important part of Dr. Salazar's reconstruction programme was the re-organization of the Caixa General dos Depositos (General Savings Bank), a Government institution

[1] *Doctrine and Action*, p. 20.

which receives deposits from commercial banks and other depositors. Several annexed autonomous departments were established, including the Caixa Nacional de Credito (National Credit Bank) which centralizes all the State services relating to industrial and agricultural credit, and the Caixa General de Previdencia (National Pensions Bank) which centralizes all services regarding pensions payable by the State. Credits are provided for farmers through co-operative societies, and the guilds of wine growers and wheat producers, organized as part of the corporative structure, are used as intermediaries for granting loans to their members. Industrial credits are also granted through the medium of the corporative bodies. There is nothing very novel or revolutionary in those arrangements. Dr. Salazar does not think that the State should itself advance credits.[1]

In June 1931 the period of three years set by the Government for the re-organization of the State finances had ended with the complete success of the programme. The next step to be undertaken was the stabilization of the escudo, which had been inconvertible since 1891. From 1st July 1931 the escudo was stabilized at a rate equivalent to 110 escudos per pound sterling, and British sovereigns and half sovereigns were declared to be legal tender in Portugal at 110 and 55 escudos respectively. The Bank of Portugal was obliged to maintain minimum reserves of gold, and the amount of the note issue was regulated. When the pound was detached from gold in 1931 the escudo was linked to sterling rather than to gold, and Portugal remained on the sterling exchange standard until 1940 when the escudo was linked to the dollar. Bank rate was progressively reduced from 8 per cent. in 1930 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and market rates of interest experienced an equivalent reduction. In 1937 the last remnants of exchange control and of restrictions on the free movement of capital were removed. This step proved the success of the measures that had been taken to stabilize the currency. In view of the experience of many richer countries, the stabilization of the escudo, without the assistance of any

[1] *Doctrine and Action*, p. 166.

external loan and in the middle of the depression, must be regarded as a remarkable achievement.

The three years of resolute reconstruction laid the foundations of the prosperity which Portugal has since enjoyed. As has already been indicated, the world depression passed over the Portuguese economy with comparatively slight results. If the reforms had not been energetically undertaken in 1928, the debilitated condition of the country would have rendered it very sensitive to the ravages of the depression. The principle of the balanced budget has remained the keystone of Dr. Salazar's financial policy. The following figures show how honestly this principle has been observed, with a generous margin of safety.

Surplus of Revenue over Expenditure

1929–30	..	£407,000	1934–35	..	£2,888,000
1930–31	..	1,512,000	1935–36	..	2,080,000
1931–32	..	1,363,000	1936–37	..	1,910,000
1932–33	..	763,000	1937–38	..	2,430,000
1933–34	..	1,184,000			

The sum of the surpluses is well over £14,000,000, of which more than £10,000,000 was maintained as a reserve fund for eventualities. The remainder was spent on land improvements such as water supply and drainage, country roads and schools. Much work was done on harbours, irrigation works and railways. The navy was modernized and enlarged. The greater part of these investments was paid for out of current revenue.

The national debt has also been put in order by means of a reduction of interest rates and a series of conversions. The Constitution provides that loans cannot be issued except for four purposes : economic development, advanced redemption of another loan, addition to the national patrimony, urgent needs of defence and public safety. Dr. Salazar had to pay $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for his first loan issued in 1930 for ports construction. In 1934 he was able to borrow on long term at 4 per cent. and in 1936 at $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The average quotation in London of Portuguese funds in 1936 showed a yield of

3.67 per cent. smaller than any other European country except Great Britain and Holland. The debt per head of the population was £11 3s. in 1936 against £23 1s. in 1911. In 1928 the public debt was in a chaotic condition. Dr. Salazar has consolidated several of the old loans and has converted others. In 1928 the floating debt amounted to £18,600,000. The whole of this amount was repaid before 1934, after which the Government's floating assets exceeded its liabilities. As a result of these operations the public debt was reduced in seven years by over £11,000,000. In 1940 the external debt was repaid by an internal loan into which it was converted.

The undoubted successes which Dr. Salazar achieved in the financial and monetary spheres would have been impossible, in the absence of exchange control, if the balance of payments had not been in equilibrium. Throughout the period the balance of visible trade was adverse:

Year	Imports	Exports	Year	Imports	Exports
1929	£24,688,500	£9,880,300	1933	£17,493,000	£7,364,000
1930	22,192,400	8,729,000	1934	17,863,000	8,263,000
1931	15,209,000	7,372,700	1935	20,854,000	8,390,000
1932	15,542,000	7,202,000			

The principal exports are cork, port wine and sardines, none of which is exposed to intensive competition. Dr. Salazar refused to apply the fashionable remedy of restrictions on imports in order to restore equilibrium in the balance of trade. It is part of his programme to make Portugal as far as possible self-supporting in wheat and rice; but, otherwise, his protective policy has been moderate and selective. In estimating the total balance of payments statistical difficulties are encountered. Portugal is a creditor nation on invisible account, being in receipt of tourist expenditure, emigrants' remittances from the United States and Brazil and interest on investments in foreign countries. These invisible exports must have been sufficiently large to bridge the gap on visible account, since not only was there no evidence of export of capital, but the gold reserves of the Bank of Portugal and Portuguese balances in London and

Paris increased. It is reasonable to conclude that the external balance was in equilibrium during the period of the financial reforms. Indeed, had it been otherwise, the financial reforms would have been impossible.

The achievements of Dr. Salazar's economic policy must not be exaggerated. Portugal still remains one of the poorest countries in Europe, with a real income per head about half that of Eire and one-third that of Great Britain.[1] Dr. Salazar himself insists that the people of Portugal are " condemned to a very limited and humble life in spite of the progress made." No cure for poverty has been found in the corporate state and no new specific for human ills has been discovered. What Dr. Salazar attempted to do was to reform the financial institutions of the nation in order to make possible the social policy which he initiated. Balancing the budget, the reduction of the national debt and abstinence from borrowing except for productive purposes were the three keynotes of his financial programme. In monetary matters Dr. Salazar is essentially conservative. He has linked the escudo to sterling and, later, to the dollar, but he has not allowed it to revert to the condition of inconvertibility and fluctuating exchange value in which he found it. In commercial policy Dr. Salazar's outlook is liberal. Self-sufficiency does not appeal to him as an end in itself, and restrictions on external trade and capital movements have been imposed with moderation and, in some cases, with reluctance. The policy of Portugal in recent years has been aptly described as " a return to the classical liberal economy with its keener edges blunted by a Catholic corporatism."[2] The example of Dr. Salazar proves that a programme embodying Catholic principles is compatible with orthodox financial practice and a liberal economic policy. If Dr. Salazar had been a member of the Irish Banking Commission, he would have found nothing in the Majority Report with which to disagree.

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[1] Clark : *Conditions of Economic Progress*, pp. 40-42.
[2] Boissonnet, *La Misère par la Surabondance*, Paris 1938.

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS AND AESCHYLUS

BY PROFESSOR W. B. STANFORD, F.T.C.D.

ALL critics agree that Hopkins's style is extraordinary. They mostly agree, too, that its strangeness is the expression of an original and dynamic mind. But when they go further and try to discern literary influences in his work, they disagree strongly. It is surprising that one poet often discussed and quoted by Hopkins in his letters has never been considered as a possible prompter of some of his more eccentric and remarkable traits of style. This is Aeschylus, a poet whose use of language is so self-stamped and arresting that few sympathetic readers can fail to be impressed, if not infected, by its peculiar and memorable qualities. Undoubtedly traces of some Aeschylean influence on Hopkins can be detected. What follows here is an attempt—the result of reading Hopkins's writings again after intensive study of Aeschylus's diction—to show that more than a little of Hopkins's stylistic strangeness is genuinely Aeschylean.

There is plenty of evidence of Hopkins's interest, from an early age, in the great Athenian. One of his youthful poetic experiments was a competent, but not distinguished, translation of the first chorus of *Prometheus Bound* during his first year at Oxford in 1862-3. In his studies there he probably read the five plays of Aeschylus prescribed (as alternatives for five of Sophocles) for Honours in Classics. Nearly twenty years later, when he was in his full power as a poet, references to Aeschylus become frequent in his letters. In January 1881 he writes to Bridges that he has " set music to " a chorus from *Prometheus Bound* (the unusual phrase expresses his loyalty to the pre-Euripidean Greek opinion that the music should subserve the words). In September 1882 he is reading and making emendations in *Agamemnon* and *The Suppliants*, and he comments " How noble is the style ! " Five years later, in July 1887, he studies *The*

Libation-bearers—"What a noble genius Aeschylus had! Besides the swell and pomp of words for which he is famous, there is in him a touching consideration and manly tenderness; also an earnestness of spirit and would-be piety by which the man makes himself felt through the playwright." In November of the same year he writes: "The wreck of me that remains to study anything is studying Aeschylus, chiefly the lyrics, for a book (or set of Papers in the *Classical Review* perhaps) thereon." His last comment, in January 1888, is arresting; in excusing resemblances between *Tom's Garland* and *Harry Ploughman*, he cites Aeschylus who "... is always forgetting he said a thing before. Indeed he never did, but tried to say it two or three times—something rich and profound but not by him distinctly apprehended; so he goes at it again and again like a canary trying to learn the Bluebells of Scotland." (Since then other scholars have explained Aeschylus's repetitions as more deliberate and artistic, but Hopkins's main observation was true and new).

These remarks were all written to Bridges who shared his enthusiasm for the Father of Tragedy. To his friend Dixon he does no more than quote from *Agamemnon* once (August 7, 1886). To Baillie he wrote in January 1883 that he was planning a work on the choric and lyric parts of Greek drama in two parts, one on metre, the other on style. (Professor Tierney has suggested Greek influence on Hopkins's own metres, in *The Times Literary Supplement*, February 16, 1933). In the same letter he adds a very acute observation on Aeschylus's use of "under-thoughts"—that is, semi-ambiguities in his lyric imagery—a principle that has only recently been reasserted and developed in Aeschylean criticism. His remaining references to Aeschylus in this correspondence are in connection with etymological interests, which will be considered later.

It is clear, then, that Hopkins was much impressed by the technique and personality of Aeschylus. Indeed no other poet in any language seems to have appealed to him more in his last years.

Before turning to look for Aeschylean traits in Hopkins's

writings a statement of his own must be considered. He wrote to Bridges in September 1888, nine months before his death: "Lately I sent you a sonnet on the Heraclitean Fire, in which a great deal of early Greek philosophical thought was distilled; but the liquor of the distillation did not taste very Greek, did it? The effect of studying masterpieces is to make me admire and do otherwise. So it must be on every original artist to some degree, on me to a marked degree." This is unequivocal. But I believe that Hopkins, to some degree, misjudged his work. Unawares, the Greek poet, who was so much in his thoughts, affected his words too. Though there is no denying that the final effect of Hopkins's style is strongly original, as original as El Greco's, yet the traces of Greek influence are not entirely obliterated. For example, to begin with the simplest kind, there are a few direct borrowings, no doubt unconscious: *knee-nave* (in No. 43 in Bridges's edition) is almost certainly from *Seven against Thebes* 371; "fleece of beauty" (36) comes, most likely, from *Suppliants* 664-6. In verse 13 of *The Wreck of the Deutschland* the line

> Sitting Eastnortheast, in cursed quarter, the wind

is hardly just a coincidence with the similar description of the winds from the Strymon sent by Artemis's curse to halt the Greek fleet at Aulis (*Agamemnon* 192-4). And when he writes (41)

> O the mind, mind has mountains; cliffs of fall
> Frightful, sheer, no-man-fathomed

he is transmuting a passage in *Suppliants* 794-7

> A sheer, goat-deserted, unpointed-out,
> lonely-minded, hanging,
> vultury, crag

in which the brilliant and vivid epithet *lonely-minded* suggested, I believe, Hopkins's mountains of the mind. And the pathos of Winefred's eyes at her murder by Caradoc (58) may owe something to Iphigeneia's in *Agamemnon* 240 ff. It is noteworthy, in view of Hopkins's preference for the choric parts

of Greek drama, that four out of these five are from lyrical passages.

It is easier to feel than to analyse stylistic similarities between poets writing in different languages; and, even if successfully undertaken, a full stylistic analysis would be tedious and out of place here. But a few salient marks may be noted and exemplified in these two poets so far asunder in time, so close in expression and spirit. Above all Greek poets of the classical age Aeschylus abounds in new-coined words, mostly striking compound epithets. Hopkins, in proportion to his output, hardly falls behind him, and certainly excels all his contemporary English poets (except, perhaps, Browning) in this. As with Aeschylus, many of his coinages are compound epithets like *drop-of-blood-and-foam-dapple* (18), *mealed-with-yellow* (27), *million-fuelèd* (48), or in a line like (20)

> Cuckoo-echoing, bell-swarmèd, lark-charmèd, rook-racked, river-rounded

in which the concentrated and daring imagery of some of the compounds is very typically Aeschylean. The same line, and others such as (32)

> selfwrung, selfstrung, sheathe—and shelterless, thoughts,

or

> time's vast, womb-of-all, home-of-all, hearse-of-all, night,

illustrate another eminently Aeschylean idiom, the accumulations of strong, pregnant epithets on a single substantive as in *Agamemnon* 151-2: "a sacrifice different, lawless, banquetless, kin-builder of quarrels, not man-fearing" or in the passage from *Suppliants* cited above. Occasionally Hopkins approaches Walt Whitman (whose style he abhorred, rightly, because it is rhetorical not lyrical), as in (32)

> Earnest, earthless, equal, attuneable, vaulty, voluminous, stupendous

which is bombastic. But this is exceptional. Elsewhere he is predominantly Aeschylean.

Like all poets of the grand style Aeschylus excelled in

devising imaginative periphrases where the current term would risk vulgarity. One could hardly illustrate the idiom better than by quoting Hopkins's picturesque way of mentioning victims of St. Vitus's Dance, epilepsy, and hydrophobia in his only dramatic piece, *St. Winefred's Well*,

> . . . . dancers in dismal limb-dance
> Fallers in dreadful frothpits, waterfearers wild.

The usage, of course, is frequent in all sophisticated poetry; but, as used by Hopkins and Aeschylus, it is on a far higher imaginative and poetic level than the "stercoraceous heap" and "gallinaceous fowl," and suchlike, of the eighteenth century poets. Aeschylus and Hopkins give us a picture for a word; Cowper and Pope merely substitute another verbal formula. This is the old contrast between the poetry of imagination and the poetry of wit.

Favourite words often betray a writer's predilections. Some of Hopkins's are: *sheer*, *deep*, *towering*, *dappled*, *enormous*, and each is favoured by Aeschylus. And the exuberant feelings of both poets tend to express themselves in hyperboles, such as Hopkins's "colossal smile" (21), "a billion times told lovelier" (12), "arch-especial" (21) "million-fuelèd" (48). Further, despite their differences in *genre* and scale, the Englishman is not unequal to the Athenian in composing lines of spacious grandeur—

> The smouldering enormous winter welkin

or

> The thunder-purple seabeach plumèd purple-of-thunder (21)

or

> . . . . earl-stars, stars principal, overbend us
> Fire-featuring heaven (32)

(an echo this of the Watchman's description in *Agamemnon* 6 of the stars as "shining dynasts in the forefront of heaven"?).

There is a feature of Aeschylus's style and, at the same time, a symptom of his mystical thought which does not appear noticeably in Hopkins's poetry but did, apparently, command much of his interest in the last few years of his

life. This is etymology. In Aeschylus it appears in very frequent allusions to the implications latent in proper names, as when the name Helen is interpreted as "*Hell* to ship, *Hell* to man, *Hell* to city." Though this may seem childish to modern readers, accustomed to regard puns as frivolous and distracting, yet in antiquity and even down to Milton's days they were accepted as instruments for revealing deep mystical truths. For it was generally believed that a person's destiny might be implicit in his name if interpreted aright and, as a corollary, that one of the best ways of understanding the meaning of any obscure word was to study its component parts. Alexandrian and Stoic scholars made a science out of this originally semi-mystical practice, and in the last century it has been drilled into the precise categories of comparative philology. But for Aeschylus this method of onomancy, this belief that a *nomen* was an *omen*, was part of his religious convictions—just as, it is said, pious Arabs, a race of ardent etymologists, accepted Allenby's conquest of Palestine in the last war with resignation because his name could be read as *Allah n'biy, the prophet of Allah.*

Hopkins became interested in etymological speculation as early as 1863, when he was nineteen. Twenty-three years later his letters to Baillie are engrossed by a revival of it, which continued till his death. This, I think, was not the result of his renewed studies of Aeschylus, but rather the coincidence of two like-minded spirits. For both Aeschylus and Hopkins were acutely sensitive to the subtler implications of words and the ideas suggested by their form and cognates, and they were also both deeply religious men and, at times, mystical. Hopkins approached etymology in a quasi-scientific way, but his motives were ultimately those of Aeschylus—a literary prepossession with words together with a religious search for mystic truths—enlisting Apollo and Hermes to find Zeus. Unlike Aeschylus, Hopkins does not fill his poetry with signs of these speculations. I have found only one noteworthy example (43)

Churlsgrace, too, child of Amansstrength,

where he is concocting a pedigree of significant names in the

Homeric or Aeschylean manner; but Bunyan did as much without any Greek. Possibly, if he had lived longer, Hopkins might have experimented more with this idiom in his poetry, though contemporary taste was against it. In one way his etymological speculations did him harm; they distracted his scholarship from more solid forms of research.

In Hopkins's imagery one finds the same dynamic, kaleidoscopic, "instressed" kind of metaphor, quickly changing from word to word, often elusive because unemphatic and unextended, as in Aeschylus. One particular type deserves special notice because it is rare, vivid, highly imaginative and irrational, and shared by both writers. This is the synaesthetic metaphor, in which one kind of sensation is interpreted in terms of another. A passage from Hopkins's Journal (July 8, 1871) well describes the kind of experience that prompts this: ". . . . there was this day a thunderstorm on a greater scale—huge rocky clouds lit with livid light, hail and rain that flooded the garden, and thunder ringing and echoing round like brass, so that there is in a manner earwitness to the *χαλκεον οὐρανόν*" (cf. "brassy cloud" and "thunder . . . . like gongs and rolling in great floors of sound" quoted by Lahey pp. 153 and 155). This is an astonishing parallel to Aeschylus's phrase in a fragment of *The Freeing of Prometheus* describing the Red Sea as *χαλκοκέραυνος*—that is, *bronze-thundering-and-lightning.* Here Hopkins is hardly dependent on Aeschylus, but, rather, a similar sensuous experience suggested to both a further dimension in the familiar Homeric phrase "the brazen sky." Later in his Journal (February 23, 1872) Hopkins uses a daring and effective synaesthesia: "But this sober grey darkness and pale light was happily broken through by the orange of the pealing of Milton bells." There are others also, quite as daring and expressive (see Lahey, Appendix II and III).

Instances of synaesthetic imagery are rarer in his poetry and all come later than this. The first is in 1877

> . . . . and thrush
> Through the echoing timber does so rinse and wring
> The ear it strikes like lightnings to hear him sing.

In the same year he goes to extremes of subtlety in explaining his sonnet *Walking by the Sea.* The lines are

> Left hand, off land, I hear the lark ascend
> His rash-fresh re-winded new-skeinèd score
> In crisps of curl off wild winch whirl, and pour
> And pelt music, till none's to spill nor spend,

and his explanation : " The *skein* and *coil* are the lark's song, which from his height gives the impression of something falling to the earth and not vertically quite but tricklingly or waveringly, something as a skein of silk ribbed by having been tightly wound on a narrow card or a notched holder or as twine or fishing-tackle unwinding from a *reel* or *winch* or as pearls strung on a horsehair . . . . *Crisp* means almost *crisped,* namely with notes." This is certainly a case of crisping a poem with notes ; an Alexandrian scholiast could hardly have been more explicit on one of the obscurer passages in Aeschylus. Here imagination, for once in Hopkins, has been tortured into conceit. In another poem (48) he reverts to the simpler style with " bright wind," which is exactly paralleled in *Agamemnon* 1180–1. Aeschylus never goes beyond a simple, but striking, phrase in his syntheses : a trumpet call sets the coast " ablaze " with sound (*Persians* 395) ; the reek of blood laughs out (*Eumenides* 253) ; an odour is " unradiant " (*Prometheus Bound* 115). Yet, as with Hopkins, these are much more striking than in any previous writers. And, what is more significant, in both poets one feels behind these bold syntheses of sensations the working of a vivid and unfettered imagination.

Now it is true that each of these salient marks of style—neologisms, rare words, accumulation of epithets, imaginative periphrases, and synaesthetic metaphor—can be found in other Greek and English poets. But their combined effect, added to the effect of many minor devices—ellipses, asyndetons, ambiguities, abrupt parenthesis, and anacolouthon, and suchlike—is unique to Hopkins and Aeschylus, making their style in their most individualistic moods, rich, even gorgeous, sometimes bizarre, obscure, curiously blended of archaism

and modernism—in fact best described in Hopkins own words : " barbarous in beauty " (14), with at times " a kind of raw nakedness and unmitigated violence." He was pleased, Bridges tells us, with the term his friend applied to him —περιττότατος, " most superabundant." It is also the *mot juste* for Aeschylus.

In one of the passages quoted above from his letters Hopkins observes in Aeschylus " an earnestness of spirit and would-be piety by which the man makes himself felt through the playwright." As often happens with writer-critics, one can reply *mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.* Even in his most objective poems one can feel the personality of Hopkins in his style, and it is very like the personality palpable in the similarly tense, concentrated, impatient, turbulent style of Aeschylus—in both the same disciplined sensuousness, the same deeply emotional and religious nature, a similar affinity with spacious, deep-penetrating concepts. And, above all, for both

The world is charged with the grandeur of God.

It is partly this sense of divinity's omniprescence, partly a familiarity with priestly ritual, partly a sacramental sense of the holiness of beauty, that give at times a liturgical cadence, symbolism, and slow solemnity to their language. But, in contrast, sometimes " The very race of the words and lines hurries on our emotions ; our minds are left behind . . . . because they cannot work at a quick enough rate " (Williams), and then it becomes true that " The poetry of Hopkins moves in waves of natural turbulence ; it yields so much to the jet and impulse of each moment's tossing that grammar and syntax are jettisoned, and he will recast the language rather than that his breakers should not curl as the wind drives them " (*Times Literary Supplement* February 9, 1933) ; this, too, is a characteristic of Aeschylus. One could interchange many more such quotations between the two poets—" continual *shocks* of strength and beauty " (Williams), " an immense fire breaking from the poem as from a volcano " (Sitwell), " absence of spiritual complacency " (Lahey). The

parallels are remarkable. Yet, though many minor English poets are given honourable mention as Aeschylean or Aeschylus-influenced in J. T. Sheppard's *Aeschylus and Sophocles: their work and influence*, Hopkins's name is omitted. There, as elsewhere, Milton is cited as one of the most Aeschylean of English poets. But, if a typical passage of Hopkins be set beside one of Milton, it is obvious which is the Eleusinian-like poet of spontaneous originality and which the skilful, post-Alexandrian blender of Hebrew prophecy and Virgilian word-craft. Doubtless Milton is a greater poet than Hopkins, but he is less Aeschylean. With Hopkins and Aeschylus it is *Eructavit cor meum:* with Milton it is *Sing, heavenly Muse.*

The obscurity common to both Aeschylus and Hopkins prevents them from being popular poets. But for those who have the patience to follow them through the richly adorned labyrinths of their style they will be equally memorable as language-moulding, beauty-binding, heart-searching, God-reaching, kindred spirits.

W. B. Stanford

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LIX

ELEGY ON TWO PRINCES

The Fearghal, on whom this poem is a lament, was son of Brian Breaghach Mág Shamhradháin and Fionnghuala, a lady whose family name is not recorded. She was probably Brian's first wife, his second being Maoilmheadha († 1323) daughter of Mac Tighearnáin who became mother of Tomás, one of Brian's successors. Fearghal never became chief of his name. Together with his brother (or half-brother) Giolla Íosa he was slain in 1322 by the Fir Monach under Amhlaoibh Mág Uidhir (st. 24). Gofraidh and Giolla Íosa (st. 41) cannot be identified. Mathghamhain Mág Raghnaill (st. 42) was chief of Muintear Eolais and died in 1315 (F.M.).

Lúcás mac naimín cc.

1. Ramhuċ táinig társ Fearġail,
ṙġéal do dub dreiċ mindealbaiġ ;
an ċraob fa blát ro bo béad
ṙaob do ċáċ gan a coimhéad.

2. Fearġal mac Briain bruinne reang
do leiṫ Cuinn cúiċ naċ caoineann ?
Ba martain dóib d'éir an fir
ṙbéir noċor ċóir n-a ċairdib.

3. An leaṙg do ṙat ba ralán
go bár meic Méig Amhradán ;
a-tá ar ndíoġ a cruiṫ do ċáċ
an ċríoċ do ċuir a conáċ.

4. Ag ṙgaoileaḋ dúinn n-a diaiḋ rain
gan arbur d'aiṫle an feolmaiġ ;
ar ndul uainn do ċraoiḃ Corad
laoiġ ar mbuair gar mbeaṫoġaḋ.

5. Ro bo minci croḋ na gceall
ar comairce ag craoiḃ Raoileann ;
táinte ṙluaiġ Ġinne Gaible
tre buaiḃ ciṫe ar comairġe.

6. Fé́r lionmhar a lucht toighe
D'éis mharbtha Fir Aoimhuighe,
Láimh re teach tugadh ar Sgrod
Fuagadh ar Sgreach San Cornoimh.

7. Mairg beanar céill don chuinne
Da bfuil d'anfhóghnuinne;
Ni fhaibe re trocht i Táil
Ar n-aire re hoic d'aghái.

8. D'éis mharcaigh Muighe na bFeart
Bud oilithrigh ar n-oireacht;
Biadh aithne na fhighead fair
Gá cineadh d'aithle Fearghail.

9. Mac Briain mheic Donnchaidh, dearc mhall,
Mac Fionnghualann, flaith Cualann,
Do-chuaidh a Sgáin do na cnaibh
An uair do-cháidh ó Cobthaigh.

10. Do-chuaidh ar Sgara ón Sgairdoibh,
Mór eagla gach athairgnigh;
Ni bi do theagar dam teach
Ni ba mbadh eagal aithreach.

11. Re méadh na troighbeart tugh dáibh
Ni tualaing cách a sgonghbáil;
Mairg nar chara d'á Bhriain Bhreagh
Dá bfagha n-a diaidh dídean.

12. Re linn airghigh Achaidh Mhóir
Do thaibhsinn aghra éagcóir;
D'aithle Fearghail ni háil linn
Leanmhain ar dáil dá ndligim.

13. Im thacar mbó beagh mo fhíomh
D'éis meic ingine an airdrígh;
Ar Sgrod má do-cháidh ir-teagh
Re ndol i Táil ni choillfeadh.

14. A-déara mé n-a marbnaidh
Re fleirgh an fuilt fionnghablaigh;
"Aghadh chaoineadh do bhraith bean,
A flaith Thaoidean, ar dteicheadh."

15. A Ċealleaċ neaċaċ gan feall
a dion éigean ir airdċeall,
fian dar náṁad a-nuasaiḋ,
a fian Fánad, fuarubair.

16. A ċeaglaċ fir na n-eaċ seang,
do sgaoil sibse ar fud Éireann ;
a lucht toige baiḋḃe Breag,
[tairnge] im ċroiḋe dar gcoinnṁeaḋ.

17. A mbliaḋna ir meirḋe mise
—mór bann uaim gá innise
ar ċan mé a-nuasaiḋ se neaċ—
maḋ cuṁain é buḋ aiċseaċ.

18. Eargairdeaċ mé ċuaiḋ ir ċeas
—ir maisg neaċ do-ní aiṁleas—
ar n-uaḋur se coir i Ċéin
a-noir ir uaṁun eiséin.

19. Dár meic síogha sáda Cuinn
do sad mé i ngarrda ngoḃuing ;
ní ċabsam féin aiċne air
mo séim a haiċle Fearġail.

20. Fearġal ṁac Briain, bruinne geal,
ní ceann mo ḃuair do-ḃeiseaḋ ;
faise mo ċruiḋ so bo ċáir
ní fuil ṁ'aise se héaḋáil.

21. Gaḃa ag aċċuma arm gcorr
ar marḃaḋ curaḋ Cualonn ;
a sleag se a soiḃe soiṁe
fear oile gá haṫsnoige.

22. Aiṫsir Maġnusa ir Briain Breag
tairḃirt ċruiḋ croḋ do ċaiṫeaṁ ;
gon sior naċ mar ní ṁéarad,
an crad cioḋ ma gcaigéalaḋ.

23. Ar mbreiṫ ar n-áirgeaḋ 'r ar n-eaċ
cáċ cugainn d'iarraiḋ aiṫċeas ;
a-sír sáinig ar ceann ċruiḋ
an dream ċáinig ar toraig.

24. Marbad milead Muige Sléacht
d'fearaib Manac ba móiréacht ;
doirb fíot fir na tuataib toir
ar ndíot i Tuatail Teactmair.

25. Giolla Íoru ir feargal fial,
gid comaidig cat Oirgiall,
trairgeoraid guin cleat gCorad
ar neac fuil gá haltogad.

26. Sgáile gac tuaige n-a taob
dar tearg a folt fiar fionnclaon ;
cnear i Céin Gáille gá guin
léir a rgáile rna rgeanaib.

27. Do canrad ór cionn a cuirp
riuag Teallaig Eacac urrduirc :
"fuil gon fóir [ór hadrad] lann
nob amlad óir ar iarann."

28. Teirt gac aonduine ar flaith fáil
d'éir a anma dá ágbáil :
"Má do bí an druim gonta ód guin
ir tre luing t'octa, a fearguil."

29. A-dearar ar uaig an finn
gon fobul d'éir an Airrinn :
"leagar, a cleat Cairn line,
neac it ainm gan oirbire."

30. Gid iomda id timceall re treall
gáir goi agur gáir géimeann,
ba meince a learg braonac bog
realg agur aonac umod.

31. Tug Gleann nGaible gan gabáil
marbad meic Méig Amradáin ;
fagur trá an gabal don glinn
an labar gé tá ar dtoitim.

32. Ní clor ó do-cuaid feargal
éan ra coill ag ceileabrad,
cráin dá ló ní adair d'ál,
ní labair bó re baoćán.

33. Dairge tosbaid an tuile
ar marbad laoic Liatmuine ;
[cosnaid] tonna laca lo
claca orra re hannro.

34. Ni tig blat re barraib crann,
ni arann fear na focann,
ar an talam do cuir cear
nac fagar luib [ga] leigear.

35. Teac oncon laca leire
rob é mo teac taireire ;
ni foil neac fir bad ail inn
do-caid an teac da dteiginn.

36. Nir an bo na heac aige
mac Briain nar beag rocraide ;
ma tug rbéir a bean im boin
mar ead ir ar éir Feargail.

37. D'éir na rleag do-coid n-a cnear
fuat don iarann rob oircear ;
a haitle an croinn do-coid inn
coill nocor cóir do caigill.

38. Feargal mac Briain badb Cualann,
mac feaiteamail Fionngualann,
ba diot bó ar fion fear Banna
ni biod read dó i ndeagarra. R.

39. Giolla Íosa an abra duib
cealg do déacur dá dioguil
do breit ar neac eile inn,
cleat Eine nocon áirmim.

40. A ndul ni hearbaid éinfir
meic dá mac an tuirféinnid ;
bár na deire rem dul féin
meire gá gcur fa coimréim.

41. Dá marbad meirde mo fead,
Garraid ir Giolla [an] Coimdead ;
Giolla an Coimdead ir cor di
blog do toirneamh ar dtire.

42. Maṫgamain Mág Raġnaill péiṙ,
ar ġcara fíre an feiṁréin
do-béara mé oṙar ann
nó go mbé tolaṁ taram.

Ramuć

Translation

V

1. All too soon has come the news of Fearghal, the news that darkens every smooth face; 'twas foolish of the world not to have kept safe that blooming branch.

2. Fearghal, Brian's son, that graceful-breasted hero—who in all Leath Cuinn weeps not for him? His friends should care naught for life now that he is dead.

3. The hillside was blessed till the son of Mág Shamhradháin died; the land which won good fortune has now lost its treasure for all men.

4. We (have to) scatter after his death; now that he is a corpse we have no corn; now that the hero of Cora is gone, the calves of our flock are our food!

5. Most often was the kine of churches spared by the Hero of Raoile; the flocks of the host of Gleann Gaibhle are safe owing to those kine (being spared).

6. After the death of Aolmhagh's Hero, though there were many soldiers in his castle, our kine was brought (for safety) near his castle, and (spite of that) our *creach* was carried off without resistance.

7. Seeing our sore strait, 'tis foolish to try to understand the world's ways; till we experienced (the death of) Tál's Scion, we dreamt not of coming evil.

8. After the passing of the Hero of Magh na bhFeart our nobles will be pilgrims; Fearghal's race, now he is gone, will come to know the roads to the East!

9. The son of Brian son of Donnchadh, the proud-eyed hero, the son of Fionnghuala the Prince of Cuala, the scion of Cobhthach—when he ceased to live, rent ceased to come from the nuts.

10. My friend has left my other friends; great is ever the fear lest a raider return, yet little is left of the plenishing of my home which causes me to apprehend another raid!

11. Those to whom he gave gifts can not keep them safe, they are so many; woe to him who has no longer Brian's scion as his friend—even if he get some other prince to protect him.

12. While the Raider from Achadh Mór yet lived, I used to put forward even unrighteous claims; now that Feraghal is gone, I care not to press for rightful ones!

13. Little care I about store of kine now that the son of the High-King's daughter is dead; yet before Tál's Scion died my flocks would not have had room within the castle's grounds—even if I had been able to get them in.

14. I will say by way of elegy over the curly-haired prince: "When keening over thee, O Prince of Taoidhe, the woman sensed our banishment."

15. O Teallach nEachach, loyal defenders of poets and churches, O Troop of Fána, deep wounds did ye suffer last year at the hands of your foes.

16. Ye followers of that hero of graceful steeds, ye are scattered all over Éire; ye dwellers in the house of the Raven of Breagha, a nail through my heart is the way ye are bestowed at present.

17. My talk with folk last year was great boasting (*i.e.* of Fearghal's friendship); this year—alas for me—I should be sorry if folks recalled it.

18. I have now no friends North or South—one always suffers for one's faults. The pride I indulged in when close to Cian's scion now makes me tremble.

19. The death of the son of the queen of Conn's Fort has confined me in narrow strait; now that Fearghal is dead, I can not realise my past high state.

20. Fair-breasted Fearghal, Brian's son, was not giving me the last of my kine; I should have taken care of it—for now I have no hope of getting any wealth.

21. Now that Cuala's Warrior is killed, a smith is repairing his stout weapons; the spear which he ever kept by him—another man sharpens it now!

22. Bestowal and spending of wealth was imitation of Maghnus and Brian of Breagha; why should a man spare wealth? When he is dead it lives not with him.

23. Our flocks and herds are taken from us, foes press in to get what is left; the foes that came before have come back looking for cattle.

24. The slaying of Magh Sléacht's Hero by the Fir Monach was a dread disaster; it will be hard, now that Tuathal Teachtmhar's scion is dead, to have peace from the folk on our Eastern border.

25. The slaying of the Heroes of Cora, Giolla Íosa and noble Fearghal, will prove the ruin of him (Mág Uidhir) who now rejoices at it, even though they, the host of Oirghialla, were his foes.

26. Every axe that cut the fair curly-haired hero had its edge dinted; the wounded body of the scion of Cian of Gáille left its mark on the blades.

27. Famous Teallach's host chanted over his grave: "The blood at its edge with which the lance was stained (?) was as gold overlaid on iron."

28. When the soul of Fál's Prince had departed, every man gave him this testimony:—"If thy back was marked by wound, 'twas a wound that came through the cavity of thy breast, O Fearghal."

29. After Mass the folk about the fair hero's grave speak thus:—"O Prince of Carn Line, a hero without reproach is laid in this earth."

30. Though for some time past loud weeping and groaning are heard all around thee, O soft moist hill-side, 'twas constant clamour of hunting and assembly that used to be heard about thee.

31. 'Twas the defence of Gleann Gaibhle that brought about the death of Mág Shamhradháin's son; the fork lies near the glen, though its prongs are broken.

32. Since Fearghal's death no bird is heard singing in the wood, the sow minds not her litter for two days, and the cow lows not to her frolicsome calf.

33. Since the death of Liathmhuine's Warrior the flood sweeps away the oaks; in misery for his loss Loch Ló's waves tear at (?) the rocks (?)

34. Blossom comes not on tree-tops, grass and corn grow not; he (by death) has brought on the land misery, and no balm can be found to relieve it.

35. The house of Loch Leise's Wolf was my constant home; that house to which I used to resort has disappeared: he who used to like this (my coming) is not in it now.

36. Brian's son who once had great retinue has now no kine or horse; if his wife now sets store on kine, 'tis only since Fearghal has gone!

37. As spears have pierced his body, we should hate all steel; as a lance has pierced him, we should have no mercy on woods.

38. (The death of) Fearghal, Brian's son, Raven of Cuala, Fionnghuala's princely son, means for the wine of the men of the Banna the loss of the price of a cow ; he set no store on goodly treasure.

39. I have seen the foul deed which afflicted (?) him (Fearghal) afflicting also another man, dark-browed Giolla Íosa, besides the Staff of Eine (Fearghal).

40. Far beyond the loss of one man was the death of those sons, the two sons of the great captain (Brian) ; the death of the two of them I count as my own death.

41. Small regard is had for me now after the death of Gofraidh and Giolla an Choimdheadh ; (the death of) Giolla an Choimdheadh is an affliction for our land, almost its ruin.

42. Generous Mathghamhain Mág Raghnaill was a true friend of mine ; he (by his death) will keep me pale till the earth covers me too.

NOTES

Mag. Ms. p. 8

1*b*. *Leg.* ṁeiċ ? *c*. cṙ. ꝑa bl. *d*. co. 2*c*. ma *d*. ca. 3*b*. *Leg.* ṁéiꝛ ? 4*a*. oi. *b*. eolmaiċ. *d*. laiṫ ; meaṫ. ; *i.e.* owing to foe's around us we cannot graze our calves. 5. Meaning of stanza obscure. *a*. minci ; ceall *b*. a cṙ. *d*. bu. 6*c*. ṫe. ṫu. aṙ cṙ. *d*. cṙ. ; co. 7*b*. buil ; -ꝑoṫ. *c*. to. 8*a*. maṙ. *c*. aiċmni. 9*c*. cain. 10*c*. baintead. *d*. ni ba nḃaṫ. 11*b*. tuailing. *d*. ꝑa. 12*a*. moiṙ. 14*d*. ṫe. 15*b*. toin. *c*. anṫuṙ. 16*d*. ṫainni ; cṙoiṫ. 17*c*. anṫuṙ. 18*a*. ṫuaiꝝ. *d*. anṫoiṙ. 19*b*. ꝛo. *c*. aiꝛne (?). *d*. aiṫ. ; or " my present plight seems strange to me " ? 20. ceann " the end " *i.e.* " the last " ? *c*. mu ċṙ. *d*. ꝑi heṫail. 21*c*. a ṙl. ꝑe ꝑemi ꝑoimi. *d*. eli ꝛa ꝛa haṫṙnoiṫi. 22*d*. cai. 23*d*. ṫai. 24*b*. moꝑeṫ. 25*b*. ꝛe ṫomaiṫo caṫ. *c*. coṙ. 27*c*. ꝑuil (?) ꝛ. ꝑoiṙ maṫṙaṫ ; trans. doubtful. oṫṙaṫ generally " growing pale." 28*a*. *Leg.* ḃꝑáil ? 29*b*. ꝑobul. *c*. cainnṫ. 30*a*. i tim. ꝑi. *b*. ꝛemann. 31*b*. meꝛ. *d*.toi. 31. Play on meaning of ꝛoḃal. 32*b*. co. a ce. 33*a*. i tu. *c*. conꝛḃaiṫ which seems to give no sense. *d*. oꝑꝑo ; hanoṙo. 34*c*. aṙ a ta. *d*. ꝛo which might possibly stand. 35*c*. ꝑino. 36*c*. bean am ḃoin. 38*c*. ḃanṫa ; for idea *cf*. Di D 114 11. 39*b*. ṫeċuṙ ṫa oiꝛuil. *c*. ṫoḃꝑeċ aṙ. *d*. seems merely " in addition to." 40. m (c above) ṫa ṁc (overlined) in tuiꝑemiċ. *d*. cuṙ. 41*a*. ꝛeꝛ. *b*. an *abest*. 42*b*. ꝑeaṙ ꝑen. *c*. aṫaṙ. *d*. ꝛo me talaṁ.

ITALIAN COLONIAL POLICY AND PROBLEMS*

BY JAMES MEENAN, M.A.

FOR several years before her declaration of war in June 1940 Italy's relations with Great Britain and France had been extremely strained. This was a new thing in European politics. In the previous war Italy had joined the Entente : at the peace-making, whatever her own grievances, she had acted with them in imposing a vindictive treaty on Germany. So late as April 1935 she had again joined them in a demonstration of Allied disapproval of German rearmament. Yet in the five years that followed the Conference of Stresa Italian and Allied relations steadily worsened. In this development Italian colonial ambitions played the largest part. The breach between Great Britain and Italy occurred over the Italian invasion of Abyssinia ; and subsequent events, such as the Spanish civil war, only intensified a difference that had never been composed. The deterioration of Franco-Italian relations dated from the same period and was hastened by Italian claims to Tunis, Corsica and Nice. Italy's declaration of war on 10 June 1940 was justified, in so far as the Italian government has ever explained it, by the necessity of colonial expansion which, it was argued, had been hindered by Allied diplomacy. Italy, it was claimed, was an unsatisfied power, a young and growing country that should be given room in the world by the sterile and decadent demo-plutocracies of the West. For these reasons Italy entered the war and is the only country so far to do so of her own will. It may not be without interest, therefore, to examine the nature and history of Italian colonial claims and problems.

These claims go back much further than might seem at

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* *Italy in Africa.* By Christopher Hollis. (Hamish Hamilton. 1941. 10s. 6d.).
The Italian Colonial Empire. (Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1941. 2s.).
A Date in the Desert. By G. L. Steer. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1940. 15s.).
Fourth Shore. By Martin Moore. (Routledge. 1940. 12s. 6d.).

first sight. It will be shown later that the present Italian claims were first advanced so long as forty years ago. An important section of Italian writers and politicians has always held that, once the work of the Risorgimento had been completed, the destiny of Italy lay in colonial expansion—which, at the same time as it revived the memories of the Roman Empire at home, would increase the prestige and power of the Kingdom abroad. To their mind colonial policy had a special importance which was as much moral as it was political. It followed that foreign policy, which in other countries was generally composed of European politics, was in Italy not merely affected but to a large extent dominated by colonial policy.

Internal politics were no less affected by colonial expansion. The unification of Italy had been the work of a comparatively small number. Their ideals were not shared, were opposed rather, by those for whom the unification meant rather a conquest of Italy by Piedmontese and by the great mass of the peasantry to whom it mattered little if Pope or King or Archduke ruled over them. The history of Italy after the Risorgimento was neither so glorious nor so prosperous as to arouse any feeling of national pride—still less to encourage any support for colonial adventure. At the same time the growing Socialist movement, which was giving that once impassive peasantry its political education, was opposed to any policy of imperialism. The internal politics of Italy, therefore, were to a certain extent composed of the struggle of national pride and desire to expand with the forces of scepticism and pacificism. The political struggles of the pre-1914 age may seem far removed from present day politics; but it is from them, and from their composition in 1919 and 1920, that Fascism and the present Mediterranean struggle can be traced.

For all these reasons it is important to understand not only why but also how Italy came to desire new colonies. But first of all we will see what colonies she possessed at the outbreak of war.

The oldest Italian colony is Eritrea lying along the Red

Sea coast and bounded on land by the Sudan to the north, by Abyssinia to the west, and by French Somaliland to the south. Originally comprising nothing more than a trading station for Italian ships at Assab, it was rounded off by purchases from the neighbouring sultans and was sold by the shipping companies to the State in 1882. Its area, 45,734 sq. miles, is composed almost entirely of high and barren mountain land with a practically valueless littoral. The population is about 620,000, of which the Europeans form some 4,000. It is not, to say the least, a bit of the world which any other European Power would bother to occupy, much less purchase; and its chief importance has been to serve as the main base for Italian armies in the Abyssinian wars of 1895–6 and 1935–36.

Italian Somaliland, on the coast of the Indian Ocean between British Somaliland and Kenya, dates from 1885. Here the Italians may claim to have done outstanding work. The country has been irrigated and fertilised to such an extent that it is self-supporting in corn—no small achievement for that part of Africa. In 1940 it had not begun to repay the money invested in it, but it was considerably nearer to doing so than Eritrea. Its population was about a million; but—and the point is of some importance—the climate precludes European settlement.

For thirty years, marked by the humiliating Abyssinian War of 1895–96 and the subsequent reaction against foreign adventure, these two territories formed Italy's colonial empire. It should be remembered, however, that Italy had always looked to the Mediterranean littoral as her true sphere of influence. During the nineteenth century a flourishing Italian settlement had grown up in Tunisia, which Italy might well have claimed with justice. France however forestalled her and, by occupying it in 1881, initiated a discord between the two countries not yet resolved—and indeed now harder than ever to resolve. The only part of the African coast not yet bespoken by a Great Power was the relatively infertile and unproductive province of Tripolitania, then nominally governed by Turkey. In 1911 Italy, fearing to be forestalled there

by Germany as she had been by France in Tunis, picked a quarrel with the Porte and occupied Tripoli. Although the weak Turkish forces were soon defeated, the native tribes made a prolonged resistance which lasted until Italian attention was distracted by the European War. The occupation was not completed until 1929—and then only after operations which won for the Italian Army and its Commander an unenviable reputation for cruelty. After the pacification, however, the Italians had full scope to exercise those qualities of colonisation in which they have always excelled. The problems of irrigation proved easier to solve than had been feared ; while the shifting sands were anchored by an extensive plantation of tamarisk grass. As soon as some progress had been made, the work of settlement began. By the end of 1939 some 50,000 settlers had been placed on the land ; and the scheme provided for the annual settlement of some 3,000 families. Further development must await the decision of war ; but it is fair to say that here at least Fascist organisation appeared to better advantage than in any of its subsequent performances.

In this war of 1911 Italy also occupied the Dodecanese Islands lying off the coast of Asia Minor. Her retention of these islands has caused constant friction between her and Turkey, whose waters they dominate, and between her and Greece, whose race occupy them. Obviously, whatever their strategic importance, these islands are of no value either for production or for settlement.

The colonial gains of Italy as a result of the 1914–18 War were the cession to her by Great Britain, in satisfaction of Italian claims under the Treaty of London, of the territory of Jubaland on the borders of Somaliland. From France, she obtained rectifications on her Libyan border ; but, as will be seen, these meagre concessions were never admitted to be a full settlement of her claims.

The annexations of Abyssinia in 1936 and of Albania in 1939 are too recent to need further notice at present. Mention however may be made of the Italian claims on France in 1940, which have been understood to include Tunis, Corsica,

Nice and parts of Savoy, and French Somaliland. In spite of these claims, however, the armistices of June 1940 made no provision for the occupation of these territories before the end of the war. The claims on Greece, later in the year, related to a rectification of the Albanian frontier and an occupation of Greek naval bases. It is understood that parts of Croatia were occupied by Italian troops after the German conquest of Jugo-Slavia, and a Kingdom of Croatia has been set up in the remainder of that territory in the name—and so far in the absence—of a cousin of King Victor Emmanuel. Italian claims on Great Britain are as yet unknown.

It is well understood how Italy comes to have at least a contingent claim on the territories mentioned in the last paragraph. It may not be so well known that all her older dominions have been acquired in the same manner and that the policy which brought Italy into war against Great Britain and France in 1940 was the same (with one very important exception) as that which brought her into war against Germany as an ally of these Powers a quarter of a century before.

To see this we must go back to that consideration of foreign policy and domestic politics which is essential to any understanding of why Italy has colonies at all and why she now wants more. When Italy came to nationhood, she had a courtesy title at best to the name of a Great Power. The unification, so rich indeed in Italian heroism, had been brought about by foreign aid. Thus the conquest of Lombardy was due to the intervention of Napoleon III; the conquest of the Two Sicilies to the diplomatic action of Palmerston. Italy had profited by the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 to occupy Venice; by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 to occupy Rome. Her success had been due far more to diplomatic finesse than to military action. It was clear that by unassisted action she could do little—perhaps even lose what she had gained—and that her true policy lay in alliances whereby she could reap from the victory of others what she could not have obtained for herself. Equally, with all Africa still undivided between the Powers, the victories of peace might be even more renowned than those of war. By appropriate

changes of alliances much might be gained without the necessity of fighting at all.

As it turned out, Italy missed that part of Africa to which she had clearly the best claim. France anticipated her in Tunis, a development which—as Bismarck, the original instigator of the French move, had foreseen and desired—led to embittered relations between France and Italy and to the entry of Italy into the Triple Alliance. (It should be remembered, however, that it was always a condition of Italian adhesion to the Central Powers that she should not be called upon to enter any war against Great Britain, the strongest naval power in the Mediterranean). Indeed, during the eighties, Italy profited considerably by Anglo-French rivalry in Africa. The development of Eritrea was due, in part at least, to the insistence of the British Government. At that time it was thought necessary that the Mahdi, then fresh from the sack of Khartoum, should be kept out of the Red Sea ports. Gladstone's Cabinet being unwilling to incur the expense of a British occupation, it was felt that occupation by Italy would serve the double purpose of thwarting the Mahdi and of confining the scarcely less friendly French to their existing territory in Somaliland.

Italian Somaliland provided an even clearer case a few years later. The local sultans, seeing that native sovereignty was doomed, were in search of a European Power as protector. The British had no desire to add a tract of desert to their dominions, but they equally wished to keep the French out. In those years the Republic had begun the policy, ended at Fashoda a decade later, of establishing a chain of French colonies from west to east across the continent. The success of this policy would block the projected all-red route from Cairo to the Cape. Again the Italians provided a solution; they were induced to assume the protectorate of the sultans; the French were (in a proper sense of the word) stymied; and the British taxpayer remained unburdened by the shifting sands of Somaliland. From first to last Italian East Africa owed everything to Anglo-French jealousy; nothing to Italian initiative.

The annexation of Tripoli in 1911 was due rather to the alliance than to the rivalry of France and England. All through the first decade of the century the Entente had succeeded in keeping Germany from the African littoral. It was felt that Tripolitania, even granted its utter worthlessness, provided the Reich with a last opportunity and temptation. Yet again no one wished to waste money on annexation: yet again the Italians were prevailed on to do the work. The annexation was made even more delectable to the Entente by the fact that it was carried out by one member of the Triple Alliance at the expense of a country then assiduously courted by the other two.

The next landmark in Italian colonial policy is the Treaty of London; and, as this transaction is claimed to be the source of Italy's present belligerence, it will be well to describe it in some detail. Italy, it will be remembered, invoked the escape clause of the Triple Alliance in August 1914. In the first winter of that war, as was again to happen twenty-five years later, Italy remained aloof. Her neutrality merely veiled a species of auction at which the bidders were Germany and Austria on the one hand and Great Britain and France on the other. In this competitive bribery the Central Powers were at a grave disadvantage. Italy had indeed colonial ambitions; but her *terre irredente* lay nearer to her heart and were, indeed, of infinitely more practical importance. These, that is to say Trieste, the Trentino, and the Dalmatian coast, lay wholly within the Austrian Empire. The Austrians, being enabled by greater experience to assess Italian military aid at a smaller price than others, were unwilling to make more than the slightest concessions. The Entente could afford to be lavish with the property of their enemies and could, and did, promise the restoration of these lands to Italy. As a result the Treaty of London was signed between Italy, Great Britain, France and Russia on April 26, 1915. A month later Italy entered the war against her former allies.

In passing, it may be remarked that exactly the same chain of events recurred twenty-five years afterwards. As late as 1935 Italy was associated with the Entente in a

demonstration of solidarity against German rearmament. Conceiving later that France and Britain stood in the path of her expansion, she tended more and more towards alliance with the Reich. We do not know what inducements were offered to Italy to remain neutral in the present war ; but it is clear that in 1939 the situation of 1914 was reversed. This time Germany could overcall the Entente. Those who consider that Italy wantonly entered the war, still more those who declare that Italy has committed an act of treachery against her former allies, miss the whole point, which is that Italian foreign policy has never varied. It has ever been directed towards obtaining the greatest possible advantage from any given situation. There is however this much divergence from tradition, and it is of some importance. Italian policy up to quite recent years was governed by two tenets : firstly, that Italy should never go to war against the strongest Mediterranean naval power ; secondly, that it was against her interests to have a strong neighbour on her northern frontier. In these respects Count Ciano has reversed the policy of Cavour, Visconti Venosta, and Sforza—with what justification events will show.

But this is a digression and, since all subsequent Italian claims to expansion have been chiefly justified by the alleged breach of the Treaty of London, it will be necessary to summarise the negotiations of the period. By this Treaty (and by the subsequent Treaty of St. Jean de Maurienne in April 1917) Italy was promised : (i) in Europe—Trieste, the Trentino and the Dalmatian coast ; her influence in Albania was recognised ; and in the case of a partition of Turkey she was to obtain south west Anatolia with the towns of Adalia, Konia, and Smyrna ; (ii) outside Europe—if France and Great Britain increased their African dominions, Italy was to receive equitable compensation. Of the execution of these treaties so far as they concerned European territories, it may be said first of all that their fulfilment or breach made no difference whatsoever to Italian domestic problems : in none of them could Italy find necessary raw materials ; still less could surplus *contadini* be placed there. In the event few

of the European promises were fulfilled, but hardly for the reasons given by Fascist propagandists. Between April 1917 and the signature of the last of the Peace Treaties at Lausanne in 1923 the situation was changed by the entry of the United States into the war, by the collapse of Austria, and by the resurgence of Turkey under Kemal Ataturk. The collapse of Austria was occasioned primarily by the revolt of the subject peoples—including the inhabitants of Dalmatia, who went over to the Serbs and, then as ever since, would have nothing to do with the Italians. It may be that Italy would have forced the cession of these provinces under her Treaty rights had it not been for the fact that the fortunes of war had brought to Versailles an American President with new and inconvenient views on secret and imperialist treaties and on the rights of self-determination. As it was, while Italy lost Dalmatia (except for Fiume which, now quite worthless without its hinterland, d'Annunzio held for her during the Conference), she did obtain not only Trieste and the Trentino but, under the plea of strategic necessity, the South Tyrol to which she had no shadow of legal or moral right. The Turkish matter dragged on, until it was settled at Lausanne five years after the greater war was finished; but the Italians never showed any great eagerness to take up their winnings—possibly being influenced by an accurate estimate of the military recovery of Turkey. Of Albania, it is sufficient to say that, at the time of the Peace Conference, Italian troops evacuated its inhospitable and barren hillsides in some disorder. It may be, to sum up, that Italy got less in Europe than the Treaty of London promised. But it is equally true to say: firstly, that these promises anticipated a greater degree of military assistance than Italy in fact provided; secondly, that at the crucial hour when the promised territories should have been occupied, Italy could not find a sufficient number of soldiers, if not actually in mutiny, at least loyal enough to do the work; thirdly, that the Allies gave Italy a more tangible gain than any of them, even France, obtained for themselves when, in gross violation of all the principles they professed, they gave her a strategic frontier.

On the colonial concessions Italy undoubtedly was treated badly. England received mandates over Palestine, Trans-Jordania, Iraq and certain German colonies in Africa. France, also a gainer at the expense of Germany, entered into an occupation of Syria which was to end twenty years later in circumstances then so inconceivable. Italy got nothing until 1925, when Great Britain ceded Jubaland, a strip on the Somali border of more extent than value. This, it appears, was genuinely accepted at the time as a fair discharge of her obligations under the Treaties. From France, Italy received an even greater slice of desert around Libya ; but the bargaining was so keen and so prolonged as to defeat its object. The Italian claims against France under the Treaty of London have never yet been settled. But with these bargainings we have come to the beginning of the Fascist era and, as it was this very matter of colonies which did so much to make Fascism, it will be necessary, in a further article, to turn back to the internal politics of Italy during this era.

JAMES MEENAN

REPORT OF THE TRANSPORT TRIBUNAL*

BY JOHN C. CONROY, M.A.

THE invention and development of the steam locomotive in the nineteenth century and the invention and development of the internal combustion engine in the twentieth century have each played an important part in the revolution which has taken place in the transport and commercial activities of the civilised world since 1800. The steam locomotive provided the means of moving large numbers of passengers and large quantities of freight at high speeds and at relatively low cost, and in a short time it had supplanted horse-drawn transport and the canals and inland navigations as the major transport agency. In the twentieth century the predominant role of the railways has been challenged by road-motor transport. The road-motor combines all the flexibility of the horse-drawn vehicle with the superior speed of the steam-locomotive, and it has the further advantage that it can be operated in small units. The initial capital outlay is small and the costs of operation are low.

The road-motor became a dangerous competitor of existing transport agencies in two different transport fields—*viz.*, the urban field, or the carriage of passengers in large cities and their suburbs, and in the inter-urban field, or the carriage of passengers and freight between towns and cities and in rural areas. In Ireland the problem of the competition of motor transport in the urban field never assumed the importance that it has assumed in other countries because in its one big city, Dublin, the existing Tramway Company was given a virtual monopoly of the tram and bus services at an early date. On the other hand the competition of the road-motor in the inter-urban field has been more marked in Ireland than in other countries, as road-motor transport is more suited to shorthaul traffic than to any other kind of traffic, and Ireland

* *Tribunal of Inquiry on Public Transport*: *Reports*. (Stationery Office. 1941. 2s. 3d.)

from its physical configuration is a country where shorthaul traffic predominates.

It soon became obvious that if the competition between road-motor transport and the existing transport facilities were permitted to develop to its logical conclusion, such competition would have a disastrous effect on the whole transport system of the country. Then there was evolved that much abused and generally misunderstood phrase " coordination of transport facilities." Whenever and wherever the transport problem was discussed or considered, lip-service was paid to this phrase, but very little was done to put it into practice.

The phrase " coordination of transport facilities " is usually applied to such a rearrangement of the transport facilities of a country as would suit the particular interests of the person using the phrase. Thus a railway man using the phrase would visualise a scheme which would retain the major portion of the available traffic for the railways and would leave certain clearly defined but very limited fields of activity to the other transport services. A road-transport operator, on the other hand, would visualise a system which would make the road-transport services the principal link in the transport system and would relegate the railways and canals to a subordinate position. A person interested in canals or inland navigations would interpret the phrase as involving a scheme whereby the canals and inland navigations would get a greater share of the traffic than they do at present. In actual fact the phrase implies a rearrangement of the transport facilities whereby every passenger would travel and every ton of freight would be carried by the most economical and efficient form of transport. The problem of coordinating transport facilities, therefore, is the problem of determining which form of transport is the most economical and efficient in any particular instance. In arriving at a conclusion weight would have to be given to considerations such as the relative costs of operation, speed, the initial capital expenditure, and the possibility of avoiding transshipment and overlapping. Due consideration would also have to be given to the fact that the railways and canals have built elaborate permanent

ways and that, if these are abandoned, a considerable amount of fixed capital will go to waste.

Although for various reasons road-motor services developed later in Ireland than in other countries, such as the United States and Great Britain, and although the legislators of this country had the advantage of being in a position to utilize the experience gained in these countries, road-motor transport was permitted to grow up in Ireland in a haphazard fashion. No effort was made to regulate its growth so that it would fill the gaps left by the existing transport facilities, or to coordinate its growth with the operations of the existing transport facilities so as to form a uniform system which would bring out the best in each form of transport. The Railways (Road Motor Services) Act of 1927 and the Road Transport Acts of 1932 and 1933 were merely attempts to prop up a tottering transport system; they did not in any way purport to deal with the transport problem as a whole.

The appointment, in December 1938, of a Tribunal to investigate the position of public transport (other than air transport) within the area of jurisdiction of the Irish Government was a step in the right direction. It raised hopes in the minds of many people that at last a serious attempt was being made to deal with an important and pressing problem. This Tribunal signed its reports in August 1939, but they were not released to the public until July 1941. Two reports were presented by the Tribunal: a Majority Report which was signed by four members of the Tribunal, and a Minority Report which was signed by Dr. Henry Kennedy.

The problem which the Tribunal had to solve was a difficult one for a variety of reasons. The logical and natural unit for the reorganisation of Irish transport facilities is the whole island, but this natural unit has been divided into two political entities. Five railway companies, operating about eight hundred miles of line, operate partly in Éire and partly in Northern Ireland. The Tribunal, in the absence of any arrangement with the Government of Northern Ireland, could only deal with those transport services which operated wholly within the area of jurisdiction of the Irish Government,

and its recommendations could only deal with such services.

In 1938 there were in Éire 2,512 miles of railway line, over 400 miles of canals and inland navigations, and over 9,000 miles of main highway. On these highways, apart from the road-motor services operated by the railway and canal companies, there were 39 licensed passenger road services operating over a net route mileage of 3,076 miles and 886 licensed hauliers operating 1,073 freight vehicles. In addition there were a number of hauliers operating for reward within limited areas of the principal ports. This public transport system is catering for a steadily falling population. When the railway and canal systems of Éire were being planned and built, the population of Éire was over six million; but by 1936 it had fallen to under three million. Also, this diminishing population is distributed in a very unremunerative manner from the point of view of the transport companies. Of the thirteen towns which have a population in excess of 10,000 inhabitants, twelve with an aggregate population of over 750,000 are located on the sea coast or on the estuaries of navigable rivers. The industries of these towns can get all necessary imports of raw materials by sea, with the result that the bulk of the internal traffic consists of such manufactured goods as are consumed in the hinterland and of the agricultural produce which is required in the towns or is transported to the ports for export.

Agriculture, which is the main occupation of the country, has never been properly developed; and in the last decade it has been further depressed by the Economic War and by the general world depression. Such scanty mineral resources as the country possesses never have been exploited fully, and no industrial development worthy of the name has ever taken place. Therefore there is very little of the heavy mineral and industrial traffic which in other countries forms such a remunerative part of railway and canal traffic. The political severance of the country, with its resulting tariff walls, has further affected the amount and distribution of the traffic which is available. The net result is to reduce the volume of

traffic to such an extent that a reasonable return on the capital invested can be obtained only if every advantage of the various types of transport facilities is exploited.

Despite these difficulties, the problem is not insoluble provided that it is approached in the proper spirit. The Majority Report of the Tribunal on Public Transport is a disappointing document and does not produce any real solution of the transport problem. In fact, so far as the inter-urban field is concerned, it does not purport to provide any solution of the transport problem as a whole. The principal recommendations of the Majority Report are limited to improving the position of the Great Southern Railways. While this Company must be regarded as the back-bone of the Irish transport system, these recommendations can only effect a temporary remedy. They will never cure the disease which affects the system. No remedy can be found unless and until a comprehensive scheme is formulated coordinating the various transport services into a harmonious unit. No effort has been made to deal with the problems of the canals and inland navigations, transport service which can play such an important part in developing the turf resources of the Midlands and the coal areas of Arigna in the present emergency. The only recommendations which it can offer, in respect to commercial road-motor transport, are designed to put an end to private enterprise in this sphere of activity.

The Tribunal has made no effort to deal with the developments and improvements in railway operation which have taken place in other countries, such as the electrification of railways or the adoption of self-contained units such as Diesel-electric railcars and other types of petrol-driven vehicles for branch lines. Neither does it appear to have made any effort to investigate the results of the working of the Drumm Battery, or to consider the desirability of recommending state grants for scientific research along the lines of Doctor Drumm's invention or into ways and means of making peat an economic fuel for driving steam locomotives.

In his Minority Report, on the other hand, Dr. Kennedy has shown that he appreciates the realities of the situation.

Most people will agree with the principles which he enunciates and with the conclusions to which he has come. The only pity is that he did not go further and prepare a comprehensive scheme of transport reorganization.

The principal recommendation of the Majority Report, in what I have called the inter-urban field of transport, may be summarized as follows :—

(*a*) That further facilities should be given to the Great Southern Railways to raise further capital for the purpose of extending its road transport services at the expense of its rail services and for the purpose of acquiring existing licensed hauliers of freight and passengers.

(*b*) The restriction of all types of road-motor transport other than such services as are operated by the statutory companies—that is to say, the railway and canal companies.

(*c*) The temporary reorganization of the management of the Great Southern Railways ;

(*d*) The establishment of an advisory body, to be known as The National Transport Council, to review transport activities and advise on future developments.

The Great Southern Railways, in the evidence tendered on its behalf, proposed the closing of certain branch lines and the substitution of road motor services for the abandoned rail services. The Majority Report accepts the principle of the abandonment of existing rail services, as it recommends that the company should be facilitated in raising a sum of £1,250,000 to finance, *inter alia*, the establishment of these new road motor services. Although steam traction on rails does not represent the *ne plus ultra* in transport development, the abandonment of existing rail services is a retrograde step which should not be considered except in rare cases. Every mile of railway abandoned represents a loss of fixed capital which cannot be replaced. If the present methods of operation are not economic, then recourse should be had to other methods, such as the substitution of Diesel engines or electric batteries for steam power, or the introduction of road-side

halts to attract traffic and the reduction in the status of the less important stations to halts. Branch lines play an important part in railway economy as feeders in the main line services, and lines which show no profit in their own working very often prove to be profit-earning services when the receipts which they bring to the main lines are taken into account. The branch lines are the roots of the main-line tree and, according as these roots are lopped off, the main-line tree is bound to suffer through a reduction in its life-giving traffic.

Apart from any theoretical arguments which can be advanced in favour of the retention of branch lines, the evidence adduced before the Commission does not suggest that any financial benefit will accrue to the Company from any such abandonment. No figures were produced to show what these branch lines earned, but it would appear that the operating losses on many of the branch lines were small and that in a number of cases the lines showed a profit. On the other hand the road-motor merchandise services operated by the Company showed a loss in each year from 1935 to 1938. In 1938 the Company's road motor freight services carried 753,932 tons of merchandise and 157,470 head of live stock for a net loss of £14,448. The merchandise and live stock traffic which was carried in 1938 on the branch lines, which the Company proposes to abandon, was slightly in excess of this. If the Company's freight road motor services cannot be run at a profit now, there is no reason to expect that those motor services to be operated in substitution for the branch railways will be any more profitable. Neither can there be much prospect that any loss on the freight services will be made up by profits from the bus services, as most of these branch lines serve sparsely populated areas. The money which would have to be spent on purchasing new motor vehicles would be much better spent in improving the permanent way on the branch lines and in introducing improved methods of traction.

The recommendation that the Company be facilitated in raising capital for the extension of its road motor services is related to the recommendations which deal with the re-

strictions on road-motor transport. The Majority Report proposes that the business of all existing licensed hauliers should be acquired by the Company, and that higher taxation should be imposed on all classes of motor vehicles other than those which are operated by the railway and canal companies. Any restrictions on the development of private motor transport, whether it is the private passenger car used by its owner for business or pleasure or the motor lorry used by the owner for agricultural or trade purposes, would retard the economic development of the country without producing any real benefit to the railway or canal companies. This type of transport is only competitive to a very small degree with the railway and canal companies. Dr. Kennedy, if at all, errs on the high side in suggesting that it is competitive to the extent of from one-seventh to one-tenth of its activity.

Instead of acquiring the existing road hauliers, the Company should endeavour to turn these hauliers into feeders for its system. The local haulier has many advantages over a centralised system. He is in touch with his customers and is familiar with local conditions. In addition to carrying goods for his customers, he can render other services such as the delivering of small messages, and it is in his own interest to do so. The Company should make arrangements with these hauliers whereby they would act as the Company's agents for the collection and delivery of goods, offering a commission on all traffic which such hauliers could secure for the railway. In so far as legislation may be needed to legalize such arrangements, there should be no difficulty in getting the necessary statute passed.

If the policy of acquiring the businesses of licensed hauliers is persisted in, then the proposals of the Commission with reference to the purchase price would require amendment if they are not to cause a great injustice. It is proposed that the purchase price of a business should be the aggregate net profits for the four years immediately prior to the date of acquisition. Transport conditions have been completely dislocated since 1939 as a result of the restrictions of imports and exports, the restrictions on the amount of petrol avail-

able, and the increases of petrol and oil prices. Operating expenses have increased out of all proportion to revenue, and the net profits for the years 1940 and 1941 are not a true index of the value of any transport concern.

The Majority Report proposes that, for a period of five years, the control of the Great Southern Railways should be taken from the Directors and vested in a Committee of three. Two members of this Committee would be part-time officers and would be elected by the shareholders; the third, who would be chairman and a whole-time officer, would be nominated by the Government. This Committee would be assisted by two whole-time Controllers, who would be appointed by the Committee on the nomination of the chairman. This proposal appears attractive on the first glance in that it would put the control of the policy of the Company in the hands of whole-time officers who, if they were men of practical experience of transport operation, could do a lot to improve the Company's position.

The proposal, however, is open to the general criticism which has been advanced earlier, that it only deals with one of the transport services and that a reorganisation of one transport service is not enough. It is true that it is to be a temporary scheme; but there is always a danger that, when the time comes to take further steps, such steps may not be taken. Temporary measures have a habit of becoming permanent in this country. Another objection is that it provides for State interference with the transport industry without State ownership or control. The State would have to take responsibility for any mistakes which might be made, but would get no credit for any improvements effected.

If there is to be any State interference in the transport industry, then a full-blooded scheme of nationalization should be adopted, as advocated by Dr. Kennedy. Transport is a vital factor in the national economy, and an efficient and progressive transport system is essential for the development of the well-being of the nation. If private enterprise for any reason fails to provide an efficient system or if the existence of a transport system built up by private enterprise is for

any reason jeopardised, then the State in the interest of the nation should step in and take control. Nationalization may take two forms. The State may take over the ownership and operation of the transport system, or it may take over the ownership of the system and delegate the operation to a public Trust. This Trust would not operate for profit.

Whichever form of nationalization is adopted, all railways and canals and their ancillary services should be vested in the State. Other licensed freight road-motor services, or bus services, or the freight services in the exempted areas need not necessarily be taken over. It may be found necessary to acquire some of these services, but it would be preferable if a working arrangement could be reached between them and the State Combine whereby these services would act as agents for, and feeders to, the State Combine. Private motor transport—whether it be motor lorries owned or operated by private individuals in connection with their businesses, or the private passenger motor car, or the hackney motor car—should not be interfered with. Their competitive effect is slight, and their continued existence would leave a flexibility in the transport system which would enable it to adapt itself to any changes in the economic life of the nation.

The proposal for the establishment of a National Transport Council is a natural corollary to the proposal that there should be a transitional stage in the development of the transport system of the country. If a proper scheme of nationalization is adopted, this body would not be necessary. Even if there is no nationalization or unification of the transport system, it is hard to see what benefits will accrue from this body. Advisory or consultative bodies rarely fulfil the expectations of their creators, and the only certain result of setting up this body will be to burden the unfortunate tax-payer with another set of salaries.

In conclusion, the value of the Reports of this Tribunal must be affected by the outbreak of the present war. When this war is over, conditions may have so changed that the premises on which the Tribunal grounded its recommendations may be completely out of date. JOHN C. CONROY

MOTHER ELIZABETH ANN SETON*

Foundress of the American Sisters of Charity

BY REV. JOSEPH B. CODE, SC. HIST. D. (LOUVAIN)
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THE proposed canonization of Mother Elizabeth Seton, Foundress of the Sisters of Charity in America, should be of particular interest to the people of Ireland. Not that Mother Seton, as she has been affectionately called for over a century, could trace her lineage to Erin ; but from her earliest years an Irish influence was providentially evident. The little girl whose heart goes out to Irish exiles as they crowd the Quarantine station of early New York, where her father is Health Inspector ; the young wife and mother who feels the kindness of an unknown Irish sea captain and his wife as she crosses the Atlantic ; the young widow who is received into the Church by an Irish priest and who is confirmed by a bishop of Irish forebears ; the outcast who is taken into Irish homes and hearts when her own people forsake her ; and finally the foundress of a sisterhood whose first subjects bear the names of O'Conway, Murphy, Butler, Mullen and Duffy, and which always has been largely made up of Irish members, either by birth or lineage—this is the Mother Seton who has come to be known and loved by thousands of Irish Americans. Surely her story should also be known by the people of Ireland.

First of all it should be remarked that Mother Seton's canonization is not merely something which is much desired by her followers ; it is an issue engaging the attention of Rome now that the diocesan process has been completed. Her Cause was introduced in 1907 when His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, instituted the proceedings preparatory to the formal introduction by the Roman authorities. And at this writing it is progressing encourag-

* With the permission of the Paulist Press, New York, I have drawn heavily upon my pamphlet of the same title.

ingly in the Eternal City. Americans of all shades of belief and stations in life are deeply interested in these proceedings. Catholics particularly are praying for the day when she will be canonized.

Born into an Episcopalian family of colonial New York, Elizabeth Ann Bayley was given a good education under her distinguished father, Dr. Richard Bayley, first professor of anatomy at Columbia University and a man known even to-day in medical circles for his contributions to the fight against yellow fever.[1] As a child Mother Seton saw the beginnings of her country. Indeed the year she was born (1774) brought a train of events which later culminated in Lexington and Concord. Early in the year the English Government had passed the "Intolerable Acts," a series of unjust legislations directed against the progress of the colonies. These repressive measures had merely quickened the determination of the Americans to separate from England, a determination that expressed itself in the assembling of delegates from practically every colony, September 5, 1774, at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, to form the first Continental Congress. Much that happened as the result of this memorable meeting had an important bearing on the formation of the child's character as well as on the future of her country.

Although Elizabeth was still very young when Brooklyn fell and Lord Howe crossed the river to take possession of Manhattan, she was old enough to know something of what was going on around her. What scenes of historic import she actually witnessed is but a matter of conjecture. But undoubtedly the stories of the coming and going of armies, of battles won and lost, of burnings and of hangings, and of a thousand other happenings of a period of war must not have been lost on her quickening intelligence. She, too, must have felt the severity of that awful winter of 1780, when the thick ice formation around the city permitted Washington to use the frozen river as a road for his army and to intercept all the convoys that might furnish the people with provisions. She must have seen the demolishing of homes and the scrapping

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

of vessels for firewood in a vain attempt to keep death by freezing from the besieged city. It is possible that she joined in the cheers of triumph when the flag of liberty was raised for the first time, down on the Battery where she had played with the children of New York's aristocracy; quite possible, too, that she was present that noon of April 30, 1789, when the Father of her country, after kissing the Scriptures, promised to keep inviolate the Constitution on which the nation had been founded. She was then fifteen years of age. Already she had come to realize that great forces and fierce antagonisms had been moving around her; that new passions and new desires had been marching up and down the Atlantic seaboard. Or rather, that old passions and old desires had been reincarnated with a new potency: love of liberty, another future. Finally the storm passed, and out of the darkness came a nation. Elizabeth did not know it, but in reality this drama which had been enacted across the lintel of her childhood was destined to mould her thought, shape her life, and contribute much to that vision and fearlessness which later characterized her work as a religious. At least it gave her a certain right to her title: Daughter of the Revolution.

Mother Seton came of people highly esteemed in the colonies. Her father was descended from a family of the landed-gentry of Norfolkshire. He was a physician of note, attached to the staff of Sir Guy Carlton, one of the commanders-in-chief of the English army in America. Hence it was natural that he should have been a Tory. Once, however, that the war was over he seems readily to have adjusted himself to his new surroundings; in fact he became conspicuous for the loyalty of his allegiance to the new republic. He was appointed first professor of anatomy at Columbia University, and because of his devoted service to the poor and sick, as well as the general esteem in which he was held, he was given the honorable position of inspector-general in the New York health department.[2]

And here it was that for the first time perhaps Mother Seton came in contact with Ireland. By thousands they were coming—"the off-scourings of the people," as the English

and Dutch inhabitants of New York called them, poor, penniless immigrants seeking a home and an opportunity to better themselves in America. She watched them land and kiss the ground ; many were ill and died upon their arrival. Thousands had perished, she heard, before they reached America. But what impressed her most was the Faith which they had never lost in all their trials. Come what may, they were confident that God who had been with them on the deep would not forsake them now among strangers. She was touched beyond words and, child though she was, she tried to help her father in making easier the lot of the ill and dying. The indefatigable labours of this man of charity caused his memory to be blessed for generations in New York City. Undoubtedly it was from him that she first imbibed the virtue which did so much to mould her life—her love for the afflicted.

The modern writer would describe Elizabeth Bayley, if she were alive today, as a girl of striking personality. She moved in the best society of the day, yet she was not affected or imperious. Her character was forceful but gentle ; her manner, even to the servants of the household, cordial. Her cheerfulness was so infectious that she was a general favourite ; yet her gaiety had a spirituality about it that coloured her social activities. She took part in the lovely house parties in the neighbouring country and in the round of entertainments in New York, Philadelphia, and in the charming villages which were springing up on Long Island. Yet she went among the poor and sick caring for them with such tenderness that she was called the Protestant Sister of Charity. In fact she helped found the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children, whose hundredth anniversary was celebrated in 1907 with much ceremony. Probably the first charitable organization in the United States, it was certainly the first in New York City.

The piety of Elizabeth Bayley evidenced itself in many ways, especially in her devotion to the person of the Saviour. She looked upon Him not as the cold, unreal Christ of early American Protestantism, but as her beloved Redeemer, compassionate, understanding, yet withal divinely omnipotent.

She always wore in full view a small crucifix in honour of His sufferings. Whenever she heard the Holy Name pronounced, she bowed her head in reverence. Every article of her clothing was marked with the name of Jesus. She longed to be united to the Body and Blood of Christ, and although she knew that her own Church taught its communion was the mere figure of the Great Reality, she prepared herself for its reception with the utmost fervour. On Sundays she would go from one Anglican Church to another to receive more than one communion. Remembering this fact, it is not to be wondered at when later she is seen spending the night before her first real Holy Communion kneeling in the darkness of her home, with eyes turned in the direction of the tabernacle of St. Peter's, " a night of watching for morning's dawn " because of Him Whom she would receive at sunrise. Cardinal Hayes, late Archbishop of New York, called Mother Seton " America's Lover of the Blessed Sacrament."

But before she was able to merit this title, she lived a life filled with unusual experiences. At the age of nineteen Elizabeth Bayley became engaged to William Magee Seton, the son of a wealthy New York merchant and a scion of the Seton family famous in Scottish legend and history.[3] Their first years of married life were happy ones, blessed by five children, two sons and three daughters. But toward the end of century, the Setons found themselves reduced to comparative poverty. Worry over these matters so undermined the husband's health that his physicians ordered a sea voyage in a final attempt to save him. Such a journey in those days was fraught with dangers, but Elizabeth loved her husband and her place was with him. And so in October of 1803, with very little funds but with great love and faith, she set out with him for Italy where his friends, the Filicchis of Leghorn and Pisa, had offered the hospitality of their Tuscan estates.[4] Little did Elizabeth dream how much this journey was to shape her future. During it she felt the kindness of Captain O'Brien and his wife, to whom was entrusted their little sailing boat, " The Shepherdess."

It was toward evening, on the eighteenth of November,

that the little sailing vessel entered the harbour of Leghorn. The Ave Maria bells were ringing over the city. The journey was over, and now Italy and happiness were before them. Italy, yes; but not happiness. Their boat was the first to bring news of the yellow fever epidemic then raging in America. It had sailed without a health certificate, and its only passengers, the Setons, were ordered to the Lazaretto or quarantine hospital. This was a prison some distance from land and unfit for habitation. Here the invalid was placed upon a ship's mattress on the damp stone floor where for six weeks he suffered day and night, constantly growing weaker until his death was expected at any moment. During this ordeal Elizabeth exercised a constancy and tenderness which was heroism of the highest order.

On December 19, the Setons were allowed to leave the Lazaretto for a house in Pisa. But scarcely had the Glorias of Christmas ended than death came for William. The Lazaretto had done its work so well that early in the morning of December 27 he died in the arms of Elizabeth. He was buried in the Protestant Cemetery at Leghorn, and his widow was received into the home of the Filicchis. At first her grief rendered her almost insensible to their kindness, but in time she began to feel the solace which the Church offers those who suffer. In fact, she was impressed with everything around her. She saw in what are to many the routine practices of their Faith a majestic charm of compelling beauty. She began to love this strange, new Faith with a love unlike anything she had ever experienced. With the appreciation of a deeply poetic soul, she sensed something of its warmth and light in the seemingly eternal lamps or in the multitudinous candles which gleamed like stars before the altars of the churches in Leghorn and Pisa. She felt it moving her to generous deeds when, kneeling before the tombs of martyrs, she prayed for their faith and courage against the trials she knew awaited her. She experienced it every time the coming of the priest in cassock, stole and surplice was announced through the streets by the tinkling of a little bell and the passers-by would kneel in adoration of their Jesus Who was being carried as Viaticum

to the dying. Elizabeth would kneel, too, and pray that if her Lord were really passing by, He would bless her and be her guide in time of trouble. From Antonio Filicchi she learned to make the Sign of the Cross, tracing it on her forehead for the first time with the deepest reverence. All these experiences had the most salutary effect upon her heart and intelligence. Until then she little imagined a more secure way to reach Heaven than that which she had been taught to follow. But now her old certainty was gone, and she began to pray that if she were not in the right way, God would lead her to it.

Perhaps Elizabeth Seton's actual conversion dates from that early Sunday morning in the city of Florence where, almost within the shadow of the great dome of Brunelleschi, for the first time she saw held up even for her adoration a White Host in consecrated fingers. That day marked a crisis in her life. She carried away the memory of that hour in much the same manner that Marius the Epicurean carried away from the house of Saint Cecilia the remembrance of the first Mass he attended. Like him she felt "a longing memory, a kind of thirst for all this over again." She would have taken instructions at once only that the little ones at home were calling and she could remain away no longer. And so, early in April, she sailed from Leghorn, loaded with presents, but with the gift of faith as her greatest treasure.

Back in America, Mother Seton began almost immediately her way of suffering. She discovered that there was no possibility of reviving the Seton fortune and that the upkeep of her family depended entirely on her relatives. These latter were willing to accept the burden ; but, upon becoming aware of Elizabeth's Catholic tendencies, they made their assistance conditional upon her adhering to the Episcopal communion. There would have been no question of choice, had it not been for her children. Every time a decision became more imperative, the faces of her little ones would haunt her. When her people realized that a change had actually taken place in her convictions, they rose up as one against her. She begged not only for the truth but for the courage to follow it. From her place in St. Paul's Church and in Trinity, where she

attended the Protestant services, her thoughts would travel to St. Peter's, Barclay Street, New York's first house of Catholic worship. She envied the Irish Catholics whom she saw hurrying to early morning Mass, there to receive, as she had often seen the Filicchis receive in their chapel on the Arno, their Lord in Holy Communion. Kind and persuasive words of friends and relatives had given way to reproaches and maledictions, to be followed by a silence that was to be the signal of complete abandonment. Days passed into weeks, weeks into months, until her soul was so crucified in this struggle between love of her children and love of God that she exclaimed: "It will end by destroying my life if protracted much longer."

One particular strong force that worked against her conversion was the Rev. Dr. Henry Hobart, Anglican Rector of St. Paul's Church, New York City. A refined, cultured and, to a certain degree, an educated gentleman, he had been a friend of the Bayleys and Setons for some years and to Elizabeth a sort of spiritual director. In all questions affecting Catholicism, however, he was singularly intolerant (though in later life he became quite Catholic in his views). For some time he succeeded in keeping Elizabeth from the Church, not only by his arguments in favour of Protestantism but especially by his appeal to their years of friendship. So great was the trial to which he subjected her that she thought of putting off a decision until her death-bed, meanwhile practising no special form of Christianity.

Fortunately Antonio Filicchi appeared on the scene at the time, returning to New York from Boston, where he had been called on business. He gave her Catholic books to read, met admirably the arguments of Doctor Hobart, and finally put her in communication with Bishop Carroll of Baltimore,[5] who wrote her a letter that combined perfect clearness of presentation with the tenderest sympathy.

It is impossible here to go more deeply into this phase of Mother Seton's life. Finally, however, she decided to brave the opposition of friends and relatives and the scorn of fashionable New York society to join the Church which was considered

in those days to be made up of " the off-scourings of the people." She was received into the Church on March 14, 1805, by Father Matthew O'Brien, pastor of St. Peter's, and almost immediately began her Calvary.[6] The inheritance once assured to her passed to a stranger, both she and her children were reduced to poverty, and the elegant coterie of which she was a member began to persecute her. Thus, in a world bitterly hostile to all that bore the name Catholic, she became a champion of the Faith without at the same time doing violence to the love in which she held her people. Among her relatives only two of her sisters-in-law, Harriet and Cecilia Seton, showed any appreciation of her sincerity and the generosity of her sacrifice. With her little children around her, she locked out the world and thanked God that He at least had not abandoned her. In after years she looked back upon these days with a kind of glory, each hallowed moment standing out clear, beautiful, eternally significant.

Later, she opened a little school near St. Mark's Church, the Bowery, but rampant anti-Catholic feeling made it a failure. When Cecilia Seton followed her into the Church, Elizabeth was threatened with eviction from the city as a pernicious renegade. It was at this time that she wrote: " I pray so much that when I awake, my mind seems meanwhile to have been praying." And again: " My children always await on their knees until I bless them with the Sign of the Cross. And then I look up to God with a humble hope that He will never forsake us."

So far as the children were concerned, they were ideally happy in the possession of such a remarkable mother who could rise above her circumstances. Perhaps they did not know that, only for the Filicchis, hunger would have come to the little household. Antonio had placed at Elizabeth's disposal a certain sum which he and Filippo insisted on her accepting as a loan and in consideration of the rights which friendship claimed over an excessive discretion. On her part, Elizabeth possessed true greatness of soul. She accepted these marks of generosity in the same spirit with which they were offered, not feeling mortified by the gifts of a friendship as

delicate as it was liberal. Yet her own resourcefulness urged her to rely on herself, and hence she decided that she must go elsewhere, if but for the sake of her children. She thought of Canada, where among Catholics she might hope to find employment. And then, just when the future seemed darkest, a new light flashed up before her.

One morning toward the close of August, 1807, Father DuBourg, Superior of the American Sulpicians, said Mass at St. Peter's.[7] He was particularly struck with the appearance of a woman, a widow so she seemed, who had approached Holy Communion. Following his Mass, he had scarcely inquired of the pastor the identity of the unusual communicant when Elizabeth entered the rectory. Father DuBourg had already heard the story of her conversion; in fact it was still on the lips of many, Catholics and non-Catholics alike, throughout the country. Touched by the account of her abandonment, he invited her to Baltimore to open a school for girls near St. Mary's Seminary.

Elizabeth prayed over the proposition, wrote to Bishop Carroll, to Antonio Filicchi, and to Fathers Cheverus[8] and Matigon[9] of Boston, who as friends of the Filicchis had become interested in her welfare. All subscribed to the plan of Father DuBourg. It was agreed that she should break with the past, go into a new land, begin life all over again. When she left New York that early June morning of 1808, she went as an exile, condemned by her people. As she boarded the sailing packet that was to take her to Baltimore, she looked upon New York for the last time. It was still the city of her love, and neither miles nor years could ever separate her from it. She watched its shadow lengthen until shadow and land were gone; then only did her eyes turn away, away to the south where a new life was awaiting her.

It was on the Feast of Corpus Christi, June 21, 1808, that Mother Seton first set foot on the soil of Maryland. Arriving at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, she found the consecration of its chapel in progress. She entered the chapel just as the priests and seminarians were singing the Kyrie of the Mass of Consecration. Kneeling, she dedicated her life

to God for whatever work He might place before her. After the Mass she and her children were received with kindness by the priests of the seminary and were given the house next to St. Mary's. Within a few weeks she had begun her great work of education.

Mother Seton knew little of formal pedagogy, but she loved children and they loved her, and they came to her in large numbers. The people of Baltimore, perceiving her ready willingness and her upright nature, showered her with kindnesses which she tried to repay by devotion to their children. They saw that her faith was a living thing and that sorrow had driven her, as though under compulsion, to a complete understanding of the sorrows of others. They came to her with their troubles; sought her advice about their problems. On their visits, they noticed that even the drudgery of the kitchen had become a thrilling experience of her new Catholicism. But they observed, also, that her enthusiasm was not the impetuosity of one who sees only the heights, forgetful of the length of the road with its many obstacles. It was an enthusiasm tempered by that peculiar self-restraint which gave to her activities charm and dignity.

As a result Mother Seton drew to her side several young women who offered themselves for the work she was doing. One was Maria Murphy, niece of Matthew Carey, Philadelphia author and publisher;[10] another was Cecilia O'Conway, "Philadelphia's First Nun"; and the others: Mary Ann Butler, Rose White, Susan Clossy and Catherine Mullen, all either Irish-born or of Irish descent. They did not ask for pay, only to be allowed to live with her, to share in the common tasks of the classroom and the household. Almost before they were aware of it, they had formed a quasi-religious community. Bishop Carroll and Father DuBourg drew up rules for them, and on the Feast of Corpus Christi, 1809, the first anniversary of her arrival in Maryland, she, with them, appeared at Mass in the seminary chapel dressed as religious. Thus was the beginning of the American Sisters of Charity.

It was not long until the Paca Street house was too small for the constantly increasing community. Mother Seton's

sisters-in-law, Cecilia and Harriet Seton, the first already a Catholic and the second soon to become one, had also arrived in Baltimore. When a change of residence was being discussed by Mother Seton and the priests at the seminary, Mr. Samuel Sutherland Cooper, a convert and a student for the priesthood at St. Mary's, offered an amount of money to Father DuBourg for the advancement of religion with the request that it be given for that purpose to Mother Seton. The day that Mr. Cooper spoke to Father DuBourg, Mother Seton approached the priest on the subject of enlarging her work, adding that while Mr. Cooper was kneeling in front of her in the chapel that morning the thought had come to her that perhaps he might contribute the amount necessary for the undertaking. Father DuBourg looked upon the whole affair as another evidence of God's hand in the work of the widowed convert. Shortly afterwards he brought Mother Seton and Mr. Cooper together for the first time. Both regarded the matter more than mere coincidence, and after much thought and prayer they decided to move the school and mother house to a piece of property, then for sale, near the village of Emmitsburg in the western part of Maryland. The Sisters prepared to move to their new home early in the summer of 1809. The exodus began on June 21, when Mother Seton bade farewell to the house which had become dear to her both as a teacher and a religious. The journey of fifty miles was made mostly on foot, Mother Seton leading the way, followed by canvas-covered creaking vans which carried her few earthly possessions. At evening they camped amid the hills, and early on the morning of the third day reached Emmitsburg. On the nearest mountain stood the recently founded seminary of Father Dubois.[11] Here Mother Seton directed her steps, for she had found that the house in the valley intended for the Sisters was not ready for occupancy. Father Dubois received the Sisters with the greatest kindness and placed his little mountain dwelling at their disposal. Here they remained until the feast of St. Ignatius, when they moved to St. Joseph's and began their work of education.

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Meanwhile the years went by. At Emmitsburg nothing seemed to have changed : there were the same hills, the same trees, the same meadows that stretched away to the Blue Ridge. The seasons came and went, each leaving its own peculiar glory on the valley. But with Mother Seton it was otherwise. A change had come upon her which her Sisters looked upon with anxiety. There was the same faith, the same courage, the same forgetfulness of self and devotion to others ; but her strength was gone and they knew she could not last much longer. The winter of 1819–20 had been so severe that it seemed impossible for her to live through it. But when summer came, she was able to take an active part in the life around her. Toward the end of the year, however, she broke completely. The Christmas of 1820 passed, and the New Year brought on increasing weakness. On the first of January, when the Sister who was watching by her bedside pressed her to take a prescribed potion, she refused by saying : " A Communion more—and our Eternity." She was in the forty-sixth year of her age and the sixteenth of Catholicism. She had spent only eleven of these years as a Sister of Charity.

It might be thought that after her conversion she had been spared additional crosses. But this was not so. She had asked for suffering, and it was given her in full measure ; she had continually sought to curb nature, and she was allowed to attain her object. Spiritual dryness and a sense of unworthiness were her chief mental trials ; financial difficulties, which brought about a continual state of poverty, gave to her body its share of suffering ; and the deaths of those whom she held most dear, especially her children, pierced her heart as another Woman's was pierced on Calvary.

Toward the end, however, a great sense of peace came over her, a calm which had been altogether unknown during these last years of struggle and suffering. Withdrawing into herself more and more, she saw (as she said) nothing " save the blue sky and the altars." Her room was next to the chapel. Day and night the door between was left open, so that her last days could be spent in the uninterrupted presence of the Blessed Sacrament. She spoke unceasingly of her happiness

of dying within the bosom of the Church. Once she was asked what she considered the greatest grace that she had ever received. Unhesitatingly she replied: "My having been led to the Catholic Church."

The day before she died she received Extreme Unction from the hands of her devoted friend the sainted Father Simon Gabriel Bruté,[12] who more than anyone else had directed her in spiritual matters. After the anointing she looked toward heaven and, "with an expression and an accent not to be rendered, exclaimed: 'Oh, how thankful.'" All that day she rested quietly. Toward evening she grew worse. The Sisters assembled near the death chamber, those unable to gain admittance kneeling in the adjoining chapel within sight of the deathbed. Mother Seton's daughter, Catherine, was the only one of her children present. William, then a young man of twenty-five and a midshipman on the frigate *Macedonian*, was on the high seas; her other son, Richard, twenty-three years of age, was with the Filicchis in Leghorn, a member of their banking establishment.[13] As midnight approached, silence pregnant with the grandeur and mystery of death stole in around her as she lay waiting. The blessed candles burning at her bedside revealed her face beautifully tranquil, the look of suffering gone forever. The clocks struck midnight, and then the first and second hours of the fourth of January. Then it was that she asked for her favourite prayer of submission and for the *Anima Christi* of Saint Ignatius. After repeating the Holy Names, she breathed her last, so quietly that those around her could not name the exact moment of her departure. Toward the last, however, they saw a strange light transfigure the face before them. It became the face of one who sees victory, who meets death in the spirit of St. Paul: "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?"

* * * *

Thus ends the story of Mother Seton. But does it end here? Thousands there are who say "no," who believe that her second life on earth has been more full, more wonderful than that which closed over a hundred years ago at Emmitsburg.

Thousands of religious women tell you this, women who are following in her footsteps either as nurses or as teachers. Thousands of aged men and women, homeless poor, incurables, lepers, and that increasing number of those who have received from her either spiritual or temporal favours—all repeat the same story. Bishops and priests add their testimony to the effect that God must have given Mother Seton the faith not only for her own sanctification but as an assistance to the Church in its attempt to put new heart into an exhausted, disillusioned, modern civilization. That is why they are eager for her canonization. They believe that if she can be presented as their country's great model of Catholic Action, the cause of religion in America will have received a powerful impetus.

Today the Daughters of Mother Seton conduct six colleges, one hundred high schools and academies, and more than a thousand parochial grade schools, as well as some thirty orphanages wherein the children are given a regular grade and high school education. It is no wonder that Mother Seton, in anticipating by her schools the state systems of education long before the first public school was founded, is regarded as the patroness of the parochial school system in America.

But not only in the field of education has Mother Seton distinguished herself. At present the American Sisters of Charity conduct one hundred and fifty hospitals and sanatoriums, one of which is the first Catholic hospital of the country and two of which are governmental institutions; scores of foundling asylums, settlement houses, working girls' homes, training schools for nurses, deafmute institutes, homes for the aged and for incurables, Negro and Indian schools, foreign missions, insane asylums, and even a leprosarium.

This splendid work for God and country is being carried on today by ten thousand Sisters of Charity who trace their descent, either directly or indirectly, to Mother Seton and her first foundation. There is the original Community of St. Joseph's which, since 1909, has formed two separate provinces with headquarters respectively at Emmitsburg and at St. Louis. In 1850 the Sisters of Emmitsburg united with the world-wide Community of Sisters of Charity founded by

St. Vincent de Paul, when they adopted the " cornette " and hence are called the *Cornette Sisters of Charity*. The *Black Cap Sisters of Charity*, so named because of the headdress which was worn originally in all of the five different branches, are descended either directly or indirectly from the Emmitsburg foundation. The New York Community has existed as a separate institute since 1848–1849 ; the New Jersey and the Halifax Communities are off-shoots of the New York sisterhood ; the Cincinnati Community was established as an independent organization in 1852 ; and the Greensburg institute owes its origin both to the Cincinnati and the New Jersey obediences. The New York and the Greensburg Communities have retained the black cap as a distinguishing headdress. The others have substituted a veil, but continue to wear the dress like that worn at St. Joseph's before the affiliation with the Paris Mother House.

But whether they wear the cornette of Emmitsburg or of St. Louis ; whether they wear the black cap of Greensburg or of Mount St. Vincent-on-the-Hudson ; whether they wear the veil of Cincinnati or Halifax, all are Sisters of Charity doing the work of Mother Seton. There is scarcely a section of the country where you will not find them. Go up and down the seaboard, north to where the pines of Maine rise up against the Atlantic or south to where the flowers of Florida tell you that you are in the southland, turn your eyes westward over the Alleghanies and the lands of the Mississippi or high again across the Rockies to the shores of California, look out across the great Canadian reaches from the heights of Halifax to the snows of Alaska, search out the far-flung lands of the Orient or of the Indies—in all these places you will find detachments of this great army of religious women, followers of Elizabeth Seton. In viewing their activities, it is not difficult to remember the words of the present Holy Father, spoken to a group of Sisters of Charity who had come from all parts of the world to honour him on the occasion of his golden jubilee in the priesthood : " Like the love of God, the Sisters of Charity are everywhere."

JOSEPH B. CODE

NOTES

[1] Richard Bayley came from English and French stock who had settled in America in the seventeenth century. Educated in New York and London, he distinguished himself as a physician and surgeon, especially in his manner of treating patients suffering from throat diseases and yellow fever, and by his then revolutionary surgical operations. He assisted in the early formulation of both the federal and state quarantine laws, and embodied his views on yellow fever in his *Letters from the Health Office submitted to the New York Common Council* and in *An Account of the Epidemic Fever which Prevailed in the City of New York during Part of the Summer and Fall of* 1795, published in New York in 1796. *Cf. Dictionary of American Biography*, 11, 74–76.

[2] The grandson of Dr. Richard Bayley, the father of Mother Seton, James Roosevelt Bayley was, on his mother's side, the grandson of James Roosevelt, a prominent New York merchant and the great-grandfather of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Born an Episcopalian, he was ordained a minister in that church in 1835 and acted as rector of St. Peter's Church in Harlem, New York. As a result of the theological controversy in the Anglican communion over the Tractarian Movement, he resigned his rectorship and went to Europe for the purpose of studying the claims of Catholicism. He became a Catholic in Rome, April 28, 1842, and then entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, but was recalled to New York by Bishop John Hughes in 1844. He was ordained March 2, 1844, and on October 30, 1853, he was consecrated first bishop of Newark by Archbishop Cajeton Bedini, papal envoy to Brazil, who was then visiting the United States. He was promoted to the metropolitan see of Baltimore, July 30, 1872, and upon his death, October 3, 1877, his remains were interred, at his request, by the side of Mother Seton at Emmitsburg. *Cf. Dictionary of American Biography*, 11, 73–74.

[3] William Magee Seton was born at sea, April 20, 1768, as his parents were returning to America from a visit to England. He was a cultured and handsome gentleman, who had been educated in England and had travelled extensively on the Continent. He belonged to the Parbroath branch of the Seton family. *Cf.* Robert Seton, *An Old Family or The Setons of Scotland and America* (New York, 1899).

[4] The Filicchi brothers, Antonio and Filippo, belonged to an old Italian merchant-prince family that had distinguished itself in many ways by its devotion to the Church and its loyalty to the Sovereign Pontiff. From the fourteenth century the Filicchis held honorable positions in Gubbio, where the Castel Filicchi still stands to attest their history. In America they were well known, as they had established numerous commercial relations with the leading bankers of New York, Boston and Philadelphia. Filippo was high in the councils of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany and had made several visits to the United States, where he had found a ready welcome in the best Anglo-American society. He knew Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Daniel Carroll of Carrollton and, among others, the latter's cousin, John Carroll, the first Bishop of Baltimore. Washington showed a singular esteem for the young Italian banker, and when the latter was returning to Italy Washington named him United States Consul-General at Leghorn. As a young man, William Seton had spent some time with the Filicchis at their home on the Arno.

[5] The Father of the American Hierarchy, John Carroll was born of Irish ancestry, January 8, 1735, in Prince George County, Maryland. Educated in Maryland and at St. Omer, France, he became a Jesuit and was ordained in Liège, February 14, 1761. Before the suppression of the Society of Jesus he engaged in teaching in Europe, and from 1773 to 1776 did missionary work in his native state. He was named Superior of the missions in the thirteen United States of America with the power to administer confirmation, June 6, 1784. He was consecrated first bishop of Baltimore, August 15, 1790, at Lulworth Castle, Dorset, England, and on April 8, 1808, was named first archbishop of the newly erected metropolitan see of Baltimore. He died December 3, 1815, in Baltimore. *Cf.* Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore*, 1735–1815 (New York, 1922).

[6] Father Matthew O'Brien was an orator and a man of learning. Pastor of the first Catholic Church in Albany, New York, he was appointed by Bishop John Carroll to the pastorate of the Church in Natchez, Mississippi, but the trustees of St. Peter's Church, New York, petitioned Bishop Carroll to have him appointed to St. Peter's. He remained in New York until 1807, later serving in Philadelphia and dying in 1816 in Baltimore. *Cf.* Leo Raymond Ryan, *Old St. Peter's, The Mother Church of Catholic New York* (1785–1935) (New York, 1935).

[7] William Louis Valentine DuBourg, S.S., was born in Santo Domingo in 1766. Educated and ordained in France, he came to America in 1794. A year later he joined the Sulpicians and in 1799 founded St. Mary's College, close to the Seminary, in Baltimore. Consecrated bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas in 1815, he was translated to the see of Montauban, in France, in 1826. He was promoted to the metropolitan see of Besançon in February 1833, but died in December of that same year. *Cf.* JOSEPH B. CODE, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* (New York, 1940).

[8] Born in France in 1769, John Louis Anne Magdalen Lefebvre de Cheverus was another of the refugee priests who sought asylum in America from the French Revolution. He spent six years as a missionary among the Indians and whites of Maine and Massachusetts, and on November 1, 1810, was consecrated first bishop of Boston by Archbishop Carroll. He was translated to the see of Montauban, in France, in 1823, promoted to the metropolitan see of Bordeaux in 1826, made a peer of France by Charles X in 1826, and created a Cardinal Priest in 1836. He died July 19, 1836, and is buried in Bordeaux. *Cf.* M. HAMON, *Vie du Cardinal de Cheverus* (Paris, septième édition, 1883).

[9] Father Francis Anthony Matignon was born in Paris in 1753. Ordained in 1778, he received the doctorate in divinity from the Sorbonne in 1785. Before the French Revolution he was professor of theology at the College of Navarre. After a short stay in England, he came to Baltimore offering his services to Bishop Carroll. Appointed to the missions of New England with his headquarters in Boston, he laboured there unaided from 1792 to 1796, when Father Cheverus arrived from France. He died in Boston, September 19, 1818. *Cf.* JAMES FITTON, *Sketches of the Establishment of the Church in New England* (Boston, 1872).

[10] Mathew Carey was born in Dublin, January 28, 1760. At the age of seventeen, while still a printer's apprentice, he published his first essay against duelling in the *Hibernian Journal*, to be followed two years later by an anonymous pamphlet in defence of the Irish Catholics which was responsible for his being sent to Paris by his parents to avoid arrest. Here he met Benjamin Franklin and Lafayette. Returning to Ireland in 1783, he conducted the *Freeman's Journal* and later the *Volunteer Journal* but new difficulties arising because of his patriotism he fled to America, arriving in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1784. A well-known publicist and editor, as well as a leader in the American nationalist school of economic thought, he became one of the most distinguished lay Catholics in the United States. *Cf.* "Mathew Carey, Publicist and Politician," by E. F. J. Maier, in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXIX (1928), 71–154.

[11] John Dubois, S.S., a native of France, came to America in 1791, bearing with him letters from Lafayette to the leading Virginian families. He learned English from Patrick Henry and said Mass in the State Capitol of Virginia. He joined the Sulpicians in 1808 and founded at Emmitsburg Mount St. Mary's College for men. He became the second bishop of New York in 1826 and died in 1842. *Cf.* JOSEPH B. CODE, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy.*

[12] Simon Gabriel Bruté, S.S., first bishop of Vincennes, Indiana, was born at Remur, France, March 20, 1779. After joining the Sulpicians, he taught theology for two years in France. Upon his arrival in America, in 1810, he joined the faculty of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. The rest of his priestly life was spent in pastoral and teaching work in Maryland, principally at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, where he became known as the "Angel of the Mountain." He was consecrated bishop of Vincennes, October 28, 1834, and died June 26, 1839. *Cf.* SISTER MARY SALESIA GODECKER, *Simon Bruté de Remur, First Bishop of Vincennes* (St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931).

[13] Catherine became a Sister of Mercy and died, April 3, 1891, as Mother Catherine Seton in New York City. Richard died at sea, June 26, 1823. William died in New York City, January 13, 1868. One of his children was the Most Reverend Robert Seton, Archbishop of Heliopolis, who died March 22, 1927, at St. Elizabeth's Mother House, Convent Station, New Jersey.

BLESSED OLIVER PLUNKETT AND HIS IRISH JESUIT SCHOOLS

BY PROFESSOR T. CORCORAN, S.J.

YOUNG Oliver Plunkett[1] of Loughcrew had entered the Irish College, Rome, some ten years after it had, by the will of its venerable founder Cardinal Ludovisi, been definitely placed under the care of the Roman Jesuit Province. Over a period of nine years, from 1645 to 1654, the future Primate of Ireland attended, with signal testimony to his academic credit, the Philosophy, Science, and Theological Faculties of their Roman College. His studies were completed by courses in Civil and Canon Law at the Roman University "Sapienza."

Dr. Oliver Plunkett became our Primate while still in the Roman academic world, in July 1669. Reaching Ireland early in 1670, through Belgium, he at once began negotiations with the Irish Jesuits, who had opened town schools in Ireland, 1660, immediately after the collapse of the Cromwellian Military Government and the flight of Henry Cromwell from Dublin Castle into the Cromwell country in England, where his brother Richard took similar precautions. Apparently both of Oliver's sons, promoted by himself to places of supreme power, were the most abject failures in all English history.

The collapse of Cromwellian tyranny in Great Britain, from 1659 to 1660, relaxed, for the time at least, the full rigour of the Cromwellian measures against Catholic schools and teachers within Ireland. But in two important respects the administration of the Penal Laws against Catholic education was, as compared with the situation under the earlier Stuarts, made permanently more severe. The Restoration in England put English Puritanism out of power in England; and that mentality has never since been able to attain real

[1] This spelling of his name is that used by Blessed Oliver Plunkett in a letter from Rome, dated 14 June 1654, which begins with the words: "Ego Oliverius Plunkettus . . . . Collegii Hibernorum alumnus". The same spelling is used by the Cromwellian officers who, in the same month and year (June 1654), began the Civil Survey of Meath. (See *Civil Survey*, Vol. V, 1940, p. 391).

power there. It was quite the reverse in Ireland. The Act of Settlement which followed the Restoration was for Ireland an Act securing the Cromwellian Planter landlord class, the Puritan Army Officers, the holders of the Long Parliament War Loan Stock, and the cognate class of jobbers in Irish land certificates who attended on them, in the legal possession of fully three-quarters of the entire soil of Ireland. It was the sons and grandsons of these men who, under Queen Anne and under the Hanoverian Kings, carefully codified and enforced, with strengthening additions, the Penal Laws on education throughout the eighteenth century. Sir George Macartney of Antrim, afterwards Earl Macartney, knew them well: he was Chief Secretary at Dublin Castle from 1769 to 1772 and for many years sat with them in the House of Commons at College Green. In his *Political Account of Ireland*, 1773, he described them as " principal persons of the Kingdom in opulence and power; men of the sourest leaven, who eagerly adopted the most harsh and oppressive measures against those upon whose ruin they rose. The Restoration had secured them their property; the Revolution armed them with power."

But it was not with this new landlord class alone, this baser English class thrown up to the political surface by the Puritan rebellion against the King of England, that the Catholic and illegal school had to contend in Ireland from 1650 to 1830 and later. The main body of this new landlordism did in Ireland what none of them were allowed to do in England after 1662. They entered into possession of the State Episcopal Church. Nonconformist preachers became Anglican ministers, deans, and bishops in Ireland: and the new landlords, in due course, put their sons into its benefices. The State Church in Ireland was definitely made Puritan in spirit by the exportation, under the Cecils and other English Statesmen, 1590 to 1640, of known Puritans to Ireland, and especially into Trinity College and its school of Divinity. This situation was much intensified after 1650. John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1800, was a bitter opponent of Catholic liberty: he was the son of

a pervert Norman lawyer in Ireland. But, as Mr. Pitt's right-hand man for carrying the Act of Union, he took pleasure, in his speech moving its second reading (1800) in the Dublin House of Lords, in describing to themselves the Anglican Prelates and Cromwellian Peers who sat before him. "The whole power and property of the country has been conferred, by successive monarchs of England, on adventurers who poured into this country *at the termination* of rebellions. Confiscation is their common title." Of the Cromwellian landlord class, in particular, he spoke thus to their faces: "A new Colony of new Settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England, poured into Ireland and were put into possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants. A very considerable portion of the opulence and power of the Kingdom of Ireland centres at this day (1800) in the descendants of this motley collection of English Adventurers." "That *motley crew*," said Lord Clare, was composed of "Brownists, Millenarians, Muggletonians," and their kindred sectarian extremists, now set up as "the landlord class" in Ireland.

Jesuit Schools in Dublin, New Ross, Cashel, 1660–1673

So it was, on unquestionable testimony, even in 1870 and in 1900. But the full vigour of repression by such men was not fully felt by Catholic Ireland under Charles II.; it did not operate till after the Battles of the Boyne and Aughrim and the violation of the Treaty of Limerick. Hence, from 1660 to 1690, there were intermittent periods when the Penal Laws on education were less severely enforced, periods when for a year or two, or even somewhat longer, Catholic schools might precariously function in Ireland. For that period, of some thirty years, we have information as to several schools conducted by Irish Jesuits at New Ross, at Drogheda, at Cashel, even at Dublin itself, the seat of Government. From the letters to Rome, written by several Superiors of the Mission, Fr. Edmund Hogan, S.J., made a transcript summary in the year 1866-1867. That English version, as far as it bears on

education, is summarised here. It begins with the work, at New Ross 1660–1670, of Stephen Gelosse, S.J. (1614-1675), bearer of an old Norman name from the Kingdom of Meath. Like Fr. Forde, 1652-1656, he started with a " hedge school " —a " ditch school," as it was termed by Arthur Young, F.R.S., and by John Howard, F.R.S., in their accounts of their visits to Ireland more than a century later, from 1776 to 1788. The writer of this New Ross record was Fr. Stephen Rice, S.J., Superior in Ireland from 1672 to 1675.

Stephen Gelosse, S.J., has been working in and near New Ross this year 1669, and ever since 1650 . . . . When the plague and Cromwell's tyranny ceased, Fr. Gelosse . . . . taught a small school . . . . in a wretched hovel beside a deep ditch, and there educated a few children furtively. When the King was restored, his companion thought they might make a venture: the hut was levelled and a large house built, where they opened a school. This school became famous and drew scholars from various parts of Ireland . . . . There were 120 boys, of whom 35 (18 Catholics and 17 Protestants) were boarders : the Jesuits were obliged to take the Protestant scholars by their parents. This school flourished for six years, encouraged both openly and privately by Protestants. We had all the usual exercises of piety and learning, and we amused and instructed the people by plays. Some Puritans became angry at this and cited Fr. Gelosse's companion before the pseudo-episcopal court, accusing him of contravening the statute of Elizabeth which forbade Papist schoolmasters to teach. The accused said that these laws referred to teaching for money. The judge said that no one taught for nothing. The accused offered to give securities to the court that he would pay a hundred pounds, if ever, as far as depended on him, he took a pension from scholars. The judge ordered him to teach no more. He was obeyed for three days ; and then, relying on the support of influential Protestants, they resumed teaching.

Fr. Gelosse took charge of the three lowest classes ; the other had the two higher schools . . . . The pseudo-bishop's Vicar was indignant at this. Contrary to the usual practice, he held a Court of triennial visitation and, citing the Jesuits before him, rebuked them for teaching in defiance of laws enacted by many Kings and Parliaments. One of them quickly replied that he would obey, " provided that you order us positively to desist from teaching." He was afraid to give this order, as it would annoy many Protestants who wanted to secure education for their children . . . .

In the month of April 1668 they entered the town of New Ross itself to hold school, but they felt that it would soon be closed. After

about three months both Jesuits were summoned to appear in the pseudo-archbishop's court in Dublin. Fr. Gelosse went, was forbidden to teach, and did not teach for two months. His companion refused to go, on the ground that he was out on bail and was bound under a heavy penalty to present himself in court at New Ross when called on. He taught the boys himself for a while and, then assuming the function of headmaster, invited Fr. Gelosse to come back as his assistant.

An Open-Air Play in New Ross

Soon afterwards he had a tragedy acted in the chief square of New Ross, after the manner in use in our Belgian schools. This was done with the unanimous consent of the Protestant officials of the town. The play lasted three hours and was witnessed by a very large throng of Protestants and Catholics, many of whom came from distant towns to witness the novel spectacle. The acting and scenery were all that could be desired, and drew much applause from the spectators . . . . At the end of the play there was a distribution of prizes. In the year 1669 the New Ross College surpassed all the schools of the Kingdom in the number, quality, and progress of its pupils, in their readiness in speaking Latin, and in discipline, piety, and morality. The number of day scholars and of boarders increased very much . . . . it was necessary to send another Jesuit to help.

The year 1670 was fatal to the College of New Ross. A parson who had in vain attacked it for two years previously, this year openly directed against it the efforts of a common schoolmaster and of some of the townsmen. They made such complaints against the College in the pseudo-bishop's Court that it was decided to be better to leave the town. During the month preceding the departure from New Ross, four dramatic pieces were presented publicly; and at the last of these the townsfolk and the scholars, even the Protestants, expressed their regret in the sincerest way. Most of the towns in the Kingdom deplored the closing of the school, which deprived their children of the opportunity of a good education.

At the breaking-up of the College at New Ross, the third member of the staff went to Waterford. Fr. Gelosse started a school near Dublin with forty pupils . . . . The Primate of Armagh asked for the aid of Fr. Gelosse's assistant at New Ross (Stephen Rice, the writer of this account). His Grace, who had recently returned from Rome, was most desirous, by the good education of youth, to keep Ulster, now confided to him, in the service of God and of the King . . . . He at once got a house built as a school and as a residence for three Jesuit teachers.

Before presenting the account of the Jesuit schools in the

North, here indicated as opened in 1670, it will be convenient to add Fr. Stephen Rice's account of two other schools conducted at that period in Dublin and in Cashel. They are taken from Fr. Rice's letter to Rome, dated 15 July 1677.

Two Jesuits educated about 30 boys in Dublin. They were obliged to teach in one small room, partly through fear and partly through poverty. When the school grew in numbers and reputation, the Protestant schoolmasters grew jealous; and by their threats and complaints caused the school to be closed for a whole year.

The school at Cashel was more successful and permanent. Its reputation spread through Tipperary and its neighbourhood. Several scholars came from a distance to it and were allowed to do so by the heretic schoolmaster, on condition that none but Catholics should frequent the Jesuit school and that they should pay the pension to him. Here a roomy house was built for schoolrooms and for boarders. The first public result of the school was a notable drama, acted for the Archbishop, Dr. William Burgat, who had just come from Rome to the See of Cashel. It was witnessed with great favour by all, even by non-Catholics.

Archbishop Plunkett's Jesuit Schools

The Jesuit schools at Drogheda, in the Province and Diocese of Armagh, were opened at the instance of the martyr Primate, Blessed Oliver Plunkett. The summaries here presented from six of the Archbishop's letters, written in Italian to the Internuncio at Brussels and to both the Secretary of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* and the General of the Society at Rome, were made at Rome by Fr. Edmund Hogan, S.J., in 1867.

(1) *To the Secretary of Propaganda, Rome, April* 26, 1671. The nobility and gentry of the whole Province of Ulster, excepting three, are deprived of their lands and, from being proprietors, have become tenants; they have now no means to educate their children . . . . Catholic teachers were not at all tolerated . . . . I invited the Jesuits into my diocese . . . . I built for them two schools, where about 150 boys and 25 ecclesiastics are educated . . . . One of the Fathers instructs . . . . the ecclesiastics . . . . the same Father teaches the rhetoricians for two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon . . . . The other Jesuit is occupied in teaching syntax and grammar . . . . Let us aid the poor children, many of whom have been perverted by going to Protestant schools.

(2) *To the Internuncio at Brussels, September* 22, 1672. The whole kingdom is indebted to you for the stipend procured for the Jesuits. What efforts I had to make to sustain them! How many memorials were forwarded to the Viceroy and the Privy Council against me and against them! They cause the more annoyance to our opponents because they are at Drogheda, only four hours' journey from Dublin, where no Catholic school is allowed . . . . But now even our opponents approach me and them, in order to have permission for their children to come to them. And, indeed, many Protestant boys come to them, belonging to the principal families, who afterwards assist us in defending them . . . . The Viceroy gave me half a promise that he would not disturb them; but as the money promised by the King was not given, I found myself in difficulties . . . . The Catholic gentry lost their possessions and estates . . . . it is impossible for them to send their children to the Catholic kingdoms. Hence it is a great relief to them to have Catholic masters here. Before my arrival they were obliged to send their children to Protestant teachers.

(3) *To John Paul Oliva, General of the Society of Jesus; from Dublin, November* 22, 1672. I have three Fathers in the diocese of Armagh, who by their virtue, learning, and labours, would suffice to enrich a kingdom: Stephen Rice is never weary of teaching; Ignatius Browne is a notable preacher in the English language; and Father Murphy who preaches well in Irish. In the schools there are 150 boys; they are, for the greater part, children of the Catholic knights and gentlemen; and there are also about 40 children of the Protestant knights and gentry. You may imagine what envy it excites in the Protestant schoolmasters and ministers to see the Protestant children coming to the classes of the Society . . . . The city of my diocese, where their residence is . . . . is called Drogheda. The country around is for the most part inhabited by orthodox knights and gentlemen; and in the city there are rich merchants and artisans of good standing.

The Viceroy, my Lord Berkeley, was most friendly to me, and esteemed me much more than I deserved—*et in verbo ipsius laxavi rete.* And the present Viceroy, the Earl of Essex, a wise, prudent, and moderate man, is nowise inferior to his predecessor in his kindness towards me, as also to the schools. As they have lasted these two years and four months, so we may hope that God, through the intercession of St. Ignatius, will grant them a long life.

Persecution of Bishops and Schools

(4) *To the Internuncio at Brussels, October* 8, 1673. God alone knows all that I have expended, in frequent journeys to Dublin, to reply to the memorials which Protestant ministers and teachers pre-

sented to the Viceroy against the Jesuit schools . . . . The whole kingdom, as far as regards ecclesiastical matters, enjoy at present the greatest peace. God grant that the next Parliament may give us no annoyance.

(5) *To the Internuncio at Brussels, November* 12, 1673. The state of Catholic affairs in this Kingdom . . . . is far worse now than heretofore . . . . It is now expected that no Catholic will be allowed to live in cities. . . . The Government here dare not moderate in any way our sentence of banishment, or give us a longer respite than the 1st of December, through dread of Parliament, which is so severe against Catholics. . . . I shall retire to some little hut in the woods or mountains of my diocese, with a supply of candles and books. . . . The Viceroy is very friendly towards me, as are all the Councillors of State . . . . the schools which I erected gave them some annoyance, but I satisfied the more moderate amongst them by explaining that they were erected for no other purpose than to instruct the youth in the Christian doctrine and in letters, that thus they might be useful for the State and for the service of the King.

(6) *To the Secretary, Propaganda, Rome, December* 15, 1673. Matters here have been very severe, the more so as the meeting of Parliament is at hand on the 7th of January next, so that I am in concealment . . . . I sometimes find it difficult to get even oaten bread, and the house where I and Dr. Brennan are is of straw, and thatched in such a manner that from our beds we can see the stars . . . . but we are resolved rather to die from hunger and cold than to abandon our flock . . . .

There is nothing which occasions me more grief than to see the schools which were instituted by me, now destroyed after so much toil. What will Catholic lads do, who are both numerous and full of talent? The schools continued till the close of November last; they commenced at the beginning of July 1670, so that they lasted three years and five months. The Fathers of the Society, indeed, behaved well and toiled exceedingly in them; they generally had about 150 boys.

After Tyburn and Aughrim

Less than a decade after these letters of the illustrious martyr came his trial—so savagely disgraceful to the record of the London courts. Just a decade further on come a small group of letters written from Lisbon to Rome by a group of Dublin pupils of the Irish Jesuits who, in the brief interval of years between 1685 and the year of the Boyne Water, had ventured to start schooling in Dublin. The

Jesuit school and chapel were opened by Fr. Eustace, S.J., at Mass Lane, which led down to the north bank of the Liffey a little east of the site of the Courts of Justice. Later, that little street was called Chancery Lane. Some of these letters were first printed, from the archives of the Irish College, Rome, by the late Bishop of Canea, Dr. Nicholas Donnelly; since 1916 his exhaustive narratives on the old *Dublin Parishes* have, to our great loss, become almost inaccessible.

Archbishop Peter Talbot (1680), fellow of Oliver Plunkett in suffering for the Catholic Faith, and Archbishop John Russell (1692), likewise a Confessor in those closing years of the seventeenth century, both died in prison at Dublin Castle. Both were kept by the English State in filthy underground cells there. Against neither, any more than against Archbishop Oliver Plunkett of Armagh a few years before, was there a particle of real evidence except their priestly and episcopal character. One of these Lisbon letters from a Dublin pupil of the Mass Lane School was written to his master, Father Eustace, S.J., then at Rome (1692) and Rector of that Irish College where Oliver Plunkett had been a young student half a century earlier. Young John Linegar, who was to be Archbishop of Dublin from 1733 to 1756, was born in the capital of Ireland in 1671. Descended from that staunchly faithful English West Country stock which, for many hundred years on to this year of 1941, has always been faithful to the Church Catholic and to Ireland, John Linegar was in 1756 followed as Archbishop by a son of the Mr. Lincoln who is mentioned in this Lisbon-Rome letter to Fr. Eustace :—

We are happy to have your Reverence a friend in such a place as Rome. The state of affairs when I left Ireland (1691) was dismal after the terrible fight of Aughrim. Mr. Rose had made for England and so to Flanders. Mr. Lincoln and his two sons escaped. Netterville (S.J.) and Chamberlain (S.J.) were a long time in prison. Father Chamberlain was threatened with torture. Father Netterville was extreme poor, and durst not walk out to see anyone whatever. Many Catholics are driven to Connaught afoot, their wives and children being allowed to carry away only ten shillings. There stood the affairs of Ireland at my departure.

It was the young Mr. Linegar of 1691–92 who, in 1729, was able to build the Chapel at Liffey Street, Dublin, that "small but neat" chapel of the State spy's report on the chapel itself and on Fr. Linegar as "the registered priest thereof" (British Museum, 1749). The venerable old chapel was in full use until the eve of the opening of the Metropolitan Church at Marlborough Street; and for years after that it was used as a parish school. The Linegar letter to Father Eustace at Rome was sent at the same period as another and far fuller letter from young Valentine Rivers, later to be for many years till his death in 1744 a Canon of the enduring Catholic Chapter of St. Patrick's. It was he who revived in the eighteenth century the perennial canonical issue as to the *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*, well known of long before both by Archbishop Oliver Plunkett of Armagh and by Archbishop Peter Talbot of Dublin.

The Rivers–Eustace letter occupies over two pages of Dr. Donnelly's text (215–218) in Part IX of his Dublin Parish Histories. The young refugee at Lisbon tells how he had got out of Dublin on 20 March 1691, voyaged to Kessen in Holland, thence to London, where he took ship for Oporto. A vivid description of the entry of "Orange" into Dublin, of the plundering of the citizens' houses and of the merciless robbery of those who fled towards Connaught is given. Young Rivers then describes how Fr. Gough, S.J., managed to escape arrest; how Frs. Netterville and Chamberlain were imprisoned, menaced with torture at the Castle, and kept there till July 1691; how the Chapel at Mass Lane, Fr. Eustace's school, narrowly escaped destruction. The Provincial of Portugal provided for the refugee Jesuit pupils who ultimately reached Lisbon; and special thanks of Rivers, Linegar, and their comrades go to Father Eustace: "We are highly obliged to your Reverence for the great favour you have done us in securing us a letter patent from the General, in order to the confirmation of our former letters, and tender you all thanks imaginable with our prayers."

T. Corcoran

SUAREZ ON THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE

RAYMOND V. SCHODER, S.J.

FRANCISCO SUAREZ was born into an age of turmoil, of momentous events and profound readjustments which brought about the final extinction of the old medieval order and begot the disruptive antitheses of the modern world. His 69 years (1548-1617) were spent among such world-rocking events as the Council of Trent, the Battle of Lepanto, St. Bartholomew's Day, the destruction of the Spanish Armada, and the preludes to the Thirty Years War. One of the more significant results of this international ferment was a radical modification of papal influence on the lives of nations. In the fundamentally united Christendom of the Middle Ages, it was customary to look upon the Chief Shepherd of the faithful as the centre of unity and the supreme court of appeal among the nations. To men with a clear perception of the primacy of spiritual values over temporal and a vivid awareness of religious sanctions, it seemed natural that the Vicar of Christ should, by his supreme spiritual authority and to the true good of all concerned, be able to bring at least moral force to bear upon temporal matters. It was the current theory that both State and Church are perfect societies *i.e.* each equipped with all necessary means to the prosecution of its proper end and each supreme in its own order, but with the State subordinated to the Church wherever spiritual and eternal issues are concerned. The medievals found practical acknowledgment of this theory in the age-old tradition of the Emperor going to the Pope to be crowned and in the Papal exercise, as occasion demanded, of the greatly feared power of interdict and excommunication.

In Suarez's day this outlook had been in great part destroyed. It became one of the major aims of his energetic life to repair this destruction.[1] He was convinced that the Papacy

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

is, and must be, in some sense a world power—even in temporalities. Just what the Suarezian analysis attributed to the Pope is our present subject of investigation—a highly interesting one in view of the times.

The Background to Suarez's Position

To appreciate the value and novelty of Suarez's contribution on this, at the time, highly explosive problem, it must be recalled that in his day two contradictory theories held sway—one conceding the Pope absolute temporal pre-eminence as the Ambassador of God from Whom all authority is derived ; the other granting him no jurisdiction at all in political matters, since the Kingdom of which he is head is not of this world. Suarez's great brother in Religion and in intellectual endeavour, St. Robert Bellarmine, had recently proposed in his *Controversiae* an intermediary theory of *indirect* temporal power of the Papacy extending even to coercion. In payment, he had received streams of vituperative expletives from His Majesty of England and, on the other hand, threats of the "Index" from that Dalmatian whirlwind, Sixtus V, for minimizing papal authority.[2] Suarez had the courage to espouse the same theory. So cogent was his exposition of it that Bellarmine's analysis, thus ably seconded by an even greater thinker, soon came to prevail ; it has since held the supremacy, in theory if not in execution.

Apart from purely scholastic reasons for treating the question, Suarez was led to discuss the temporal power of the Papacy by the impact on European thought of recent abortive attempts at its exercise. The famous decree of St. Pius V deposing Elizabeth (1570) had been as unheeded as the later release of subjects from fidelity to Henry of Navarre by Sixtus V (1585) and Paul V's interdict of Venice (1603).[3] Lacking popular support, the papal claims had been ignored. Could they still be defended in theory ? Suarez thought yes, with the requisite distinctions. "The wisest fool in Christendom," James I of England, thought no. It was especially in his controversies with James that Suarez elaborated his position, though he had earlier stated it briefly in the *De*

Legibus. It is, then, mainly from the *Defensio Fidei Catholicae adversus Anglicanae Sectis Errores* that we must seek the exposition of his stand. Reference to other relevant passages will, however, add some valuable details and reveal his whole mind on the subject.

The Temporal Power of Kings

Suarez, in the accredited philosophical fashion, indulges in a little preliminary clearing of the air. He says that although his purpose is not to discuss the absolute right of a king in his own realm, but only his subordination and due obedience to the Roman Pontiff, it will be more orderly and more calculated to soothe James's unwarranted fears in regard to papal claims, if he states Catholic doctrine on the temporal power of princes before proceeding to the papal supremacy itself.[4] He begins therefore by affirming, as Catholic teaching, that the political power of kings, if legitimately acquired, is just and necessary. Further, it is from God,[5] but not directly, like that of the Pope, as James wishfully maintains; it really comes to the king through the people.[6] In consequence, Christian nations are bound to obey their legitimate temporal rulers, and those who argue that the faithful are not subject to political rule or, if so, only as exercised by the Pope, are in error.[7] Furthermore, the king in his own realm has no *direct* superior in temporal matters, not even the Pope; still, he is indirectly subordinated to the Church in respect of a higher, eternal order not in itself political but spiritual.[8]

Having thus proved his fairness of mind and his respect for the kingly profession, Suarez appends a significant *but*. Caesar may claim all that is Caesar's, but let him not be so bold as to claim also what is God's. The thesis that the king, in virtue of his supreme temporal power, is also the ultimate spiritual head of his realm, which was the whole burden of James's book[9] and the main point of controversy, Suarez will not allow. To this touchy nerve-centre of the royal doctrine he applies the pitiless drill of argument—drawn from history and reason. He denies James's fundamental tenet

that temporal and spiritual power should dwell in the same single head of the nation; for, he laconically remarks, *de facto* the men to whom Christ first gave the spiritual supremacy were not kings but fishermen; nor does history record any such case in post-Apostolic times.[10] Since this whole matter is not a purely philosophical one, Suarez here as elsewhere adds further arguments based on authority. Holy Scripture, the Fathers, decrees of the Popes, even Emperors themselves are set against the king's new theory.[11] Reason supplies still further arguments, including a bright *retorqueo* of one of James's points versus Bellarmine, and objections proposed by the Anglican writers are refuted with dexterity.[12]

The Temporal Power of the Pope

Having established the supremacy of the Pope in spiritual matters—by a long exposition which we need not resume—Suarez then proceeds to discuss his temporal power, which, he remarks, has three meanings: that over the Papal States, that over the whole world, and that over Christian nations. The first is strictly royal, for the Pope is truly the supreme temporal ruler of his own realm.[13] It is to be noted, however, that he holds this temporal dominion, not by any Divine right or as a necessary concomitant of his spiritual authority (though it may be morally necessary in order to ensure the requisite political independence of the Holy See), but only by the gift of men.[14] As for any temporal jurisdiction over the whole world, Suarez will grant the Pope only a potential right to it—*i.e.* dependently on the whole world's conversion to the Faith; for infidel rulers and peoples do not, by any argument, fall within the limits of ecclesiastical authority.[15] Even over Christian nations the Pope's temporal power is not absolute or direct, but only indirect, as required for the full execution of his direct spiritual supremacy.

It was on this point that Suarez braved the formidable displeasure of Rome. To James this "Jesuited doctrine" might seem a partial concession in the right direction. But to many at the Vatican it was dangerous tampering with long-accepted prerogatives of the Holy See. Suarez notices the considerable

weight of authority against his stand.[16] Many argue that the one universal Church, being perfectly constituted by Christ as a monarchy, must therefore have concentrated in its one head all spiritual and temporal power over Christian nations, as otherwise they could not be fittingly subordinated and unified. In consequence, to whom Christ gave supreme spiritual power He also gave supreme temporal power, although the Pope may prefer to delegate the latter to the Emperor for actual execution. Does not this seem the only explanation of the historical facts that the Emperors came for their crown to the Pope, swore allegiance to him, and were deposed by him when necessary? Furthermore, it was by papal authority that the imperial rule was, in the first place, transferred from Constantinople to Germany; and, in times of vacancy of the imperial throne, it was the Pope who conducted its affairs. Popes themselves can be cited for this view—*e.g.* Nicolas II, who said of Christ our Lord: "He committed to blessed Peter, bearer of the keys of eternal life the power over both the heavenly and the terrestrial empire." More explicit still is Boniface VIII in his famous bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302), wherein he proclaims the unicity of authority over all Christendom, basing his contention on the principles that the two swords of the Gospel (*Luke* 22.38) symbolize the spiritual and the temporal power committed to the Church;[17] that unity of all rule over Christendom is implied by the unrent garment of the Saviour; that Christendom, being a single body, would be a monstrosity if it had two heads; and that even in the Old Law Jeremias was commissioned by God with supreme temporal power: "Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations, and over kingdoms, to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build up, and to plant" (*Jer.* 1. 10).[18]

Suarez's Theory: Indirect Temporal Power

To all this Suarez replies[19] that it is one thing for all temporal power to be subjected to the Sovereign Pontiff and quite another that he should have direct authority to rule the whole of Christendom himself through civil laws. The latter

proposition he feels compelled to deny as strongly as he must champion the former. For since this issue is of the supernatural order, it ought to be provable from Scripture or Tradition. As a matter of fact, however, these are all against the doctrine. For we only read that Christ gave Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and all the Fathers interpret this as referring only to spiritual jurisdiction. Moreover, the Popes themselves have always considered it in the same light, as is shown by their countenancing temporal princes. Even Boniface VIII merely meant that the temporal sword is not directly and formally in the papal hands, but only indirectly and, so to say, *eminenter*. What is more, absolute temporal power would harm the Papacy, for its concomitant duties and solicitudes would impede the proper exercise of the spiritual supremacy. Another evil effect would be that infidel kings would lose their supremacy on conversion to the Faith—surely no inducement to their entering the fold! All the necessary safeguards and efficiency are provided for in the indirect superiority of the Pope and the subordination of civil to canon law.

For the establishment of this primacy of the spiritual over the temporal order, Suarez adduces several compelling arguments. He admits that the mere nobility and excellence of the spiritual may not prove its superiority. But positive reasons put it beyond doubt. As St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, Boniface VIII, and many others have pointed out, the nature of Christendom as one body in Christ postulates one supreme head, who by reason of his spiritual supremacy must also have the temporal powers in due subordination, just as the soul of man holds primacy over the body. To affirm the opposite would be to invert the order of Divine Providence. Thus by a deft bit of analysis, Suarez quietly steals the ammunition of *Unam Sanctam* from the enemy camp and displays it in his own.[20]

The objection that such double authority is provided in Christ himself, as true Head of the Church, bears no weight; for the government of the visible Church requires its presence also in the visible head—*i.e.* Christ's Vicar the Pope. For

on him lies the grave duty of correcting, by the spiritual sword, the aberrations of kings and ecclesiastics, while he himself is kept from doctrinal error by the special guidance promised by Christ. In this, as in other rights, the Pope far surpasses the High Priest of the Old Law, who was perhaps subject to kings even in his own religious sphere.[21] Modern heretics like Henry VIII, who assert that the same subordination of the spiritual to the temporal ruler still prevails, have no argument to stand on except their own desire each to be Pope in his own realm. Nor can it be urged that if both powers may not be held by a king, neither can they be held by the Pope; for, as a matter of fact, the Pope is temporal ruler of the Papal States, and his indirect temporal power over other realms is not repugnant to his spiritual status, but if wisely exercised may complement it and adorn it with higher dignity.[22]

Suarez in another place proposes further arguments for the merely indirect nature of the Pope's temporal power. If the papal power in this matter were absolute, he remarks, it would have to come to the Pope from the Natural Law, or human right, or Divine right. But there cannot be found in any of these sources an argument for its absolute quality. Not from the Natural Law, because this, according to the Suarezian analysis of the origins of regal prerogatives, bestows authority directly not on individuals but on the complete social congregation. Not from human right, because *de facto* it has never been bestowed on the Pope by any universal consent of all the people nor by any Emperor, since no Emperor ever had it himself and therefore could not give it away. Not, finally, by Divine right, since Christ never promised Peter more than the keys of the kingdom of Heaven. Our Lord Himself did not lay claim to such temporal domination, but rather affirmed explicitly: "My Kingdom is not of this world." And thus have the Fathers always explained it—*e.g.* SS. Augustine, Hilary, and Jerome. Nor is it even likely that Christ should have bestowed on His Vicar rights which He Himself refused to exercise, or that He should impose on him so crushing a double burden of responsibility. The

conclusion, then, must be that the Pope does not have absolute or direct temporal power outside the Papal States, but that on the other hand in virtue of his supreme spiritual authority over all Christians he does and should have *indirect* temporal power to the extent of the adequate and effective realization of his obligations to shepherd the whole flock of Christ and lead it over all obstacles to the eternal pastures.[23]

The Directive Power of the Pope

But if the Pope's authority in temporal concerns is only indirect, it is at least that. Suarez is prepared now to defend this horn of the problem with equal cogency and fearlessness. In short, he calmly continues to hew to the line of precise truth, though now the chips are all likely to fall on the other side and disturb the complacency of His Majesty of England. That Christian kings are subject to the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, Suarez has already proved. He now proceeds to set up and prove at length the proposition that: "The Supreme Pontiff, in virtue of his spiritual power or jurisdiction, is superior to temporal kings and princes to the extent that he may direct them in their exercise of temporal power according to spiritual ends, in view of which he may command or forbid such exercise of power and demand or hinder it, in so far as is required for the spiritual good of the Church."[24] This directive power of the Pope, he explains, is not merely one of counsel, admonition, or request. It is true superior power of obligating and efficaciously moving by moral force so that it approaches actual coercion. This assertion, he points out, is affirmed by the general consensus of all Catholics and all Catholic writers, even by those who deny the Pope direct temporal supremacy.

To authority are added arguments from Scripture and from reason. Revelation teaches that our Lord gave Peter and his successors in the See of Rome universal care of souls. But this implies all the authority necessary to the exercise of this rule, and consequently directive power over all temporal rulers. Otherwise, God would not have planned His work prudently, which is repugnant to His perfect wisdom

and providence.[25] Again, it is part of the Pope's spiritual rule to care for the souls of princes and not let them sin by using their power unjustly. Furthermore, such injustice would harm the spiritual welfare of all the king's subjects, of whom also the Pope is shepherd.[26] From another angle, the two powers—temporal and spiritual—can be kept at peace with one another only if one is subordinated to the other, which evidently must mean that the temporal is subordinated to the spiritual. This, indeed, is the position of St. Thomas and a score of other authorities.[27]

The Coercive Power of the Pope

Suarez now unsheathes a proposition far more likely to strike terror in his royal opponent. The superior *directive* power of the Pope in temporal matters, he says, little disturbs the English king. But the equally true and universally accepted thesis that the Pope also has *coercive* power over temporal rulers is one which James, like all enemies of the Church, specially fears—*anxie timet.* The heretic rightly foresees in the acceptance of such a truth by his people an imminent danger to his throne. "In order, therefore, to be able to persist in his blindness, he wishes to despoil the Church of Christ of all defense-measures against heretical princes." But Suarez spiritedly heralds his resolve and ability here also to refute error and prove Catholic truth from usage, authority, and reason.[28]

This coercive power of the Pope over evil, incorrigible, schismatic, and pertinaciously heretical princes in the first place is already proved, for it is necessarily included, as Aristotle would point out, in the directive power, since otherwise the latter would be inefficacious and the Divine Founder of the Church would be imperfect in His work. The same is proved from Scripture, especially the passages wherein David and St. Paul speak of punitive measures and "the rod." So too, the texts giving St. Peter the power of binding upon earth and the injunctions of SS. Paul and John to shun incurable heretics all imply this coercive power. A long list of

instances of its use by the Popes and its acceptance by princes would seem to put the issue beyond dispute.[29]

Here the argument's momentum is sufficient to carry it yet deeper into the king's self-constituted sanctuary. From the truths just established follows the further truth that the Pope's coercive power extends even to temporal penalties and punishments, not excluding deposition if the necessity should arise.[30] For this is necessarily implied in the indefinite verbs used by our Lord : " Shepherd My lambs " and " Whatever thou shalt bind," thus leaving it to the Supreme Pontiff's prudent justice to use whatever means are called for by each situation. Has not every shepherd the right to use force, not in some definitely prescribed way but according to what in each instance is expedient for the flock ? Nor can one object that only spiritual sanctions are here authorized, for no such restriction can be found in the texts, and even the spiritual power bestowed includes temporal measures like the interdict, suspension, and dissolution of the binding-force of laws and precepts. Moreover, the temporal nature of this power is clearly indicated in the Scriptural account of how St. Peter by a word deprived the unjust Ananias and Saphira of life, and how St. Paul delivered over to Satan the Corinthian guilty of incest—" unto destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord."

History also bears witness in the same sense. Are there not abundant instances where Popes have had to resort to the deposition of contumacious princes or to the release of their subjects from their jurisdiction ? Has James forgotten Canossa or the case of King John right there in England ? Or perhaps he never read the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council, bidding the Pope to release from allegiance the vassals of a king refusing to purge his realm of heresy and to offer the kingdom to some Catholic occupant. All of this, Suarez remarks, provides the following conclusive argument : The Universal Church cannot err in points of Faith or morals; but the Universal Church is at one in approving this sort of canonical penalty against contumacious temporal rulers for grave offences and especially for heresy ; therefore it is as

certain that the Pope can coerce and punish temporal princes in this fashion as that the Church cannot err in Faith and morals.[31]

A third source of truth is now called upon to corroborate the witness of authority and history that the Pope has a true title to temporal coercive power. For reason itself demands it as necessary to the welfare of both princes and their subjects. It is the Pope's evident duty as supreme Shepherd to employ feasible coercive measures for the emendment of rebellious princes whenever the spiritual censures, which are the Pope's initial and usual medicine, fail of their salutary purpose. This is merely a parallel to the undoubted right of the Church to exact from the faithful, in penance for sin or heresy, bodily and pecuniary penalties, even to the confiscation of their goods and the capital sentence, if the secular power to whom the guilty person is traditionally handed over judges this the equitable punishment. The Church, in fact, needs this power if it is efficaciously to rule those sons of hers, be they even kings, who are deaf to spiritual sanctions. Else Christ did not sufficiently provide His Church with the necessary means to the salvation of souls.[32]

The objection that princes are exempt from this special power of the Pope is ridiculous and the very opposite of the truth. For even the pagan philosophers point out that the crimes of rulers are of special gravity because of their bad influence on the whole nation. "It is the shepherd's office not only to correct erring sheep and call them back to the fold, but also to protect them from wolves and enemies, lest they be torn away from the flock and perish." Therefore Christ's command to Peter, "Shepherd My sheep," implies that the Pope may depose and expel evil and heretical kings, lest they harm their subjects, and on the other hand release his subjects from their oath of fidelity, which the king's perversity has rendered void.[33]

It is even true that the Pope can release from allegiance the Christian subjects of an evil *infidel* king, upon whom personally he has no claim to obedience; for, as St. Thomas and St. Gregory point out, this may be the only adequate safe-

guard of the eternal welfare of the Christian subjects. What else did St. Paul mean in bidding the Corinthian Church to set up its own judges in temporal disputes, so as not to have to go to the pagan courts? His words (*I Cor.* 6.3) are explicit enough: "Know ye not that we shall judge angels? How much more, then, affairs of this world!" As a matter of fact, this is merely the same principle whereby the Church, in virtue of the Pauline privilege, can separate a Christian from an infidel husband or wife, or the baptized from the jurisdiction of their parents whenever the avoidance of grave spiritual danger requires it. All the more, then, can the Pope so deal with Christian princes and, if necessary, call upon secular force to drive the pernicious ruler from his throne.[34]

There are many other arguments, Suarez says, which he could bring forth to consolidate his position. But they are unnecessary and can be found, if desired, in the learned tomes of other authors. Instead, he devotes thirty large double-columned pages[35] to refuting, with remarkable fairness and vast erudition, innumerable objections to his thesis raked up by King James (or his mercenaries) from Scripture, Patristics, history, conciliar decrees, reason, and the alleged novelty of the age-old doctrine. Those interested may profitably consult them in the passage indicated.

SUMMARY

To sum up, the whole subject comes to this: the Pope, because of his supreme spiritual authority over all Christians, can *indirectly* exercise both directive and coercive power over temporal rulers when spiritual issues are at stake. This control embraces excommunication, interdict, release of subjects from oaths of allegiance, regulation of war, and coercion or even forceful deposition of rulers at the hands of Catholic princes charged with the task. Proof that the Pope has this power is to be seen in the Scriptures, the Fathers, time-honoured usage, the infallible universal agreement of the Church, the pronouncements of Popes and Councils and theologians, the worthlessness of contrary objections, and especially because reason demands it for the perfect con-

stitution of the Church and the efficacity of her shepherding of souls.

In the face of such weighty arguments, whose validity is independent of the calendar, what is the present value of Suarez's doctrine? The deposing power, of course, has never been declared *de fide*, though the long and wide admission of the theory seems to place it among those universally accepted Catholic doctrines which it is temerarious to reject. Still, the Church has always declined to state her authoritative mind on the subject in any satisfactorily explicit terms, and for several centuries she has made no attempt to put the doctrine into operation. Certainly the changed conditions of the times and the prevailing un-Catholic philosophy of life and government render impracticable any measures in the spirit of Boniface VIII.

But then three questions clamour for their answers (which I do not pretend here to supply): (1) Would not the world be far better off if the Pope today could and did check the spiritual and cultural devastation consequent on some régimes now in power? (2) Is the present vast and growing *persuasive* power of papal pronouncements and encyclicals a satisfactory substitute for the old direct coercion? (3) Should we work to reinstate and realize Suarez's ideal?

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NOTES

[1] Don Luigi Sturzo, in his masterly study of the interrelations of ecclesiastical and political power during the Christian era, states that Suarez and Bellarmine strove to substitute in the place of the old theory the best alternative—an international order based on the acceptance of the Natural Law as the source of moral and legal sanctions, and ultimately guided by the Pope's authoritative interpretation: *Church and State* (London, Longmans, 1939), pp. 249-250.

[2] Fr. James Brodrick, S.J., *Blessed Robert Bellarmine* (London: Burns Oates, 1928), II, Chap. 23; cp. Sturzo, *ibid.*, p. 251.

[3] Sturzo, *ibid.*, p. 250.

[4] *Defensio Fidei* 3. proem.

[5] *Ibid.*, 3. 1. 3-7.

[6] *Ibid.*, 3. 2-3.

[7] *Ibid.*, 3. 4.

[8] *Ibid.*, 3. 5. 1-6.

[9] *Ibid.*, 3. 7. 2, quoting James's words in his preface: "Nam neque me Pontifice ulla ex parte inferiorem esse credam."

[10] *Ibid.*, 3. 7. 3.

[11] *Ibid.*, 3. 7. 4-12.

[12] *Ibid.*, 3. 8-9

[13] *De Legibus*, 3. 6. 3.

[14] *Defensio Fidei*, 4. 4. 1 ; cp. *De Legibus*, 3. 6. 5 and 3. 5. 13, where Suarez holds the validity of the Donation of Constantine.

[15] *De Legibus*, 3. 6. 1, 3 ; cp. *De Charitate*, 13. 5. 4.

[16] *De Legibus*, 3. 6. 2.

[17] Boniface is generally interpreted here as meaning no more than that the temporal sword is to be used, not *by* the Church, but *for* it—that is to say, it is only indirectly in her hands. C. Ryan-Millar, *The State and the Church* (New York, Macmillan, 1930), p. 48.

[18] Cp. John N. Figgis, *Divine Right of Kings* (Cambridge University Press, 1934), pp. 48-50.

[19] *De Legibus*, 3. 6. 4-6.

[20] *Ibid.*, 4. 9. 1-3.

[21] *Ibid.*, 4. 9. 4-8.

[22] *Ibid.*, 4. 10.

[23] *Defensio Fidei*, 3. 5. 8-22.

[24] *Ibid.*, 3. 22. 1 : " Pontificem Summum, ex vi suae potestatis seu iurisdictionis spiritualis, esse superiorem regibus et principibus temporalibus, ut eos in usu potestatis temporalis dirigat in ordine ad spiritualem finem, ratione cuius potest talem usum praecipere vel prohibere, exigere aut impedire, quantum ad spirituale bonum Ecclesiae fuerit conveniens."

[25] *Ibid.*, 3. 22. 4.

[26] *Ibid.*, 3. 22. 5-6.

[27] *Ibid.*, 3. 22. 7-8.

[28] *Ibid.*, 3. 23. 1.

[29] *Ibid.*, 3. 23. 2-9.

[30] *Ibid.*, 3. 23. 10 : " Superest ut . . . ulterius procedamus, eamdemque Pontificis potestatem, ad coercendos reges temporalibus poenis ac regnorum privationibus, quando necessitas postulat, extendi posse ostendamus."

[31] *Ibid.*, 3. 23. 11-16 : " Universalis Ecclesia errare non potest in his quae ad fidem et mores pertinent ; sed Universalis Ecclesia consentit in huiusmodi factis, et illa probavit tanquam consentanea divino et naturali iuri, et similiter approbat leges canonicas imponentes huiusmodi poenas principibus temporalibus propter gravissima scelera et contumaciam in illis maximeque in haeresi ; ergo tam est certum posse Pontificem coercere vel punire principes temporalibus his poenarum generibus quam est certum non posse Ecclesiam in fide et moribus errare."

The decree of the Lateran Council is thus quoted : " Si dominus temporalis monitus ab Ecclesia terram suam purgare neglexerit ab haeretica foeditate, per metropolitanum excommunicetur. Et si satisfacere neglexerit inter annum, significetur hoc Summo Pontifici, ut ex tunc ipse vasallos ab eius fidelitate denuntiet absolutos, et terram exponat Catholicis occupandam, etc."

[32] *Ibid.*, 3. 23. 17-19.

[33] *Ibid.*, 3. 23. 20-21 : " Ergo per illam [potestatem] potest et talem principem dominio suo privare et arcere, ne nocoat subditis, et hos a iuramento fidelitatis solvere, vel solutos declarare, quia illa conditio [ut recte regat] in tali iuramento semper intelligitur inclusa."

[34] *Ibid.*, 3. 23. 22.

[35] *Ibid.*, 3. 24-30.

MONETARY POLICY IN ÉIRE

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MONEY. By Prof. Alfred O'Rahilly, M.A., D.Sc., D.Phil., D.Litt. Cork University Press. Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland. London: Longmans. 1941. 7s. 6d.

THIS book, on a subject so essentially within the realm of economics, must add to the reputation for versatility already enjoyed by its author, who as well as being Professor of Mathematical Physics in University College, Cork, is also Lecturer in so entirely different a sphere as Sociology. With a quite exceptional energy and an obvious bibliographical flair, he has produced an extraordinarily well-documented volume. That his characteristically vigorous style and polemical treatment do not always make for moderation is evident from passages such as: "Our bankers have certainly done their best to confuse and mislead the public; unfortunately they have to a large extent succeeded . . . . . I think there is a widespread open conspiracy to prevent the plain man from understanding the essentials of banking." Equally startling are his criticisms of economists, which contrast strangely with the liberality with which he has borrowed from economic literature. His intensity is such, however, that his vivid denunciations are, no doubt, an inevitable accompaniment.

In the general treatment of the subject Professor O'Rahilly's background is not exclusively economic. The numerous references to historical, sociological, ethical, legal and other sources not only bear testimony to his extensive researches but permit of an unusual and interesting presentation, which is particularly marked in the earlier sections in which the evolution of money and of banking are dealt with so clearly and so competently. For most readers, however, the main interest of his book will lie in the succeeding sections, in which he advocates measures of a far-reaching character, particularly in relation to monetary affairs in Éire.

Professor O'Rahilly regards as socially desirable the adoption of what is known as the 100% Money Plan—an American conception associated with the name of the late Professor Irving Fisher. The underlying idea is to "divorce the process of creating and destroying money from the business of banking" by depriving banks of their existing power to create credit and by restricting their activities to the exercise of two distinct functions. One type of bank would be engaged, as in the case of a Savings Bank, in the lending of money subscribed by shareholders or received from depositors, (though the

latter sums would not possess the characteristics of what we now regard as deposits). A second type of bank would operate in regard to demand deposits on lines similar to those of the old giro banks (such as the Banks of Venice and Amsterdam) in which " the total deposits in the ledger always equalled and never exceeded the coins in the safe ; no credit was created, no overdrafts were allowed."

Thus, there would be, on the one hand, a loan bank with lending activities strictly limited to the amount of its cash resources. In consequence it would be debarred from providing those additional credit facilities which represent so substantial a portion of the business of modern commercial banks and the volume of which is not limited to the amount of immediately available cash, but is determined by the expectation that the customary monetary habits of the community will not suddenly change. Such habits indicate that normally a bank may continue to lend with safety so long as it maintains a cash reserve which, in Éire and in Great Britain, represents approximately 10% of total deposits. Side by side with loan banks would be the modern equivalent of the giro banks, in which customers' deposits would be liable to withdrawal and to transfer by cheque, and in respect of which there would be a statutory obligation to maintain a 100% cash reserve. To the extent of approximately 90%, such a reserve, in existing banking practice and, indeed, from the standpoint of commonsense, would properly be regarded as a wholly unnecessary immobilisation of cash resources which would otherwise be available for use either as money in circulation or as a basis for increased credit facilities.

In restricting the powers of banks to expand or contract credit in respect of sums in excess of immediately available cash, Professor O'Rahilly is fully aware that these powers can be exercised only within the limits imposed by the necessity of maintaining an adequate cash reserve. He seems to attach too little importance, however, to a further limitation—the necessity of adequate security for advances. But such restrictions do not satisfy his objections to the exercise of powers in relation to credit which, in certain circumstances, may involve banks in liabilities which they could not meet. When a bank grants an advance of, say, £1,000 on the basis of a cash reserve of, say, £100, it does so because it expects that its experience in the case of all previous similar loans will be repeated and that, because of the use of cheques (which economise cash), the demand for cash to which the use of the loan gives rise is unlikely to be for a greater sum than £100. Nevertheless, the bank has undertaken to pay £1,000 on demand, not as to 10% in cash and 90% by way of book entries of transferable claims but, if so required, *wholly* in cash. This undertaking obviously could not be carried out unless a 100% cash reserve against deposits was always maintained. Hence, if an entirely abnormal and sudden

demand for cash arose because of some such development as a financial scare due to the outbreak of war, the customary cash reserves of banks might prove inadequate to satisfy such demand immediately. The difficulties of the banks in such circumstances could be resolved only by the State authorising the adoption of some expedient similar in character to the temporary suspension of the Bank Act in Great Britain in 1914 or by sanctioning an increase in the fiduciary issue of the Central Bank—in other words by temporarily relieving the banks of their undertakings to pay cash on demand or, alternatively, by placing additional cash resources at their disposal.

Because, firstly, of this contingent liability of the State; secondly, because of what Professor O'Rahilly regards as the ethically indefensible position of banks in undertaking liabilities which cannot be discharged in emergencies; and, thirdly, because of the social implications of the powers of banks in relation to so vital a portion of economic mechanism as credit, he would be prepared to acquiesce in the continued exercise of those powers only if banks acted " by delegation and permission of the State . . . . . subject to social direction and control." This control, which would be exercised through a State Reserve Bank or Central Bank, would not only involve inspection of records and the publication of more detailed information than at present, but would cover interest rates, a qualitative supervision of bank advances, and the regulation of foreign investments. In addition, though Professor O'Rahilly acknowledges the immediate impracticability of the 100% Money Plan, he favours a gradual approach to the ideal of cash reserves sufficient to meet all possible emergencies and of the complete cessation of the powers of banks to lend in excess of their available cash.

Unless it could be shown that banks are abusing their powers (and no such charge has been made), it must seem to many to be an altogether undue deference to the most extreme scruples of the moralist to apply such strict control to their normal everyday transactions because of the remote possibility of emergencies involving the temporary inability of banks to provide immediate cash (which is only a part of the business of banking). So also in regard to the 100% Money Plan, there will be many who will agree with the views expressed in the Majority Report of the Banking Commission that this plan is devised to meet conditions which have no counterpart in this country (in which there has not been a bank failure during the past fifty-six years) and represents a reversal to a primitive type of banking. There is the further point that, by over-emphasis on the functions of banks in relation to cash, the supporters of the plan confine themselves in too narrow a field and fail to present a balanced picture in which the wider functions of banking would appear in proper perspective.

The changes visualised by the 100% Money Plan are but a part

of those monetary changes which Professor O'Rahilly regards as overdue in Éire and which arise out of his two main proposals—the introduction of a national currency and the establishment of a State Reserve Bank or fully fledged Central Bank. As to the first of these, he objects to the present system, which he describes as sterling-painted-green, whereby the convertibility of our currency units into sterling on a pound for pound basis is ensured by the Currency Commission holding (until the recent limited purchases of gold) sterling assets as cover for all legal tender notes issued. This inflexible adherence to parity with sterling means that our price level and our general economic stability are determined by external conditions affecting sterling, just as adherence to the gold standard by other countries subjected their economic stability to international conditions affecting gold. Hence, Professor O'Rahilly disapproves of a system which "allows another State automatically to transmit to it (Éire) the results of deflation and inflation." He advocates the adoption of one sufficiently flexible to admit of *imparity* if circumstances were suitable—a course which gives rise to an exchange rate other than that of pound for pound but not necessarily to a fluctuating exchange rate. He favours an imparity which, as in the cases of Australia and New Zealand, would represent an under-valuation or depreciation of the national currency (for example £102 Irish=£100 sterling). Export trade would benefit, since the pound sterling so obtained would exchange for a greater number of Irish pounds. On the other hand, the volume of imported goods would decline because of the fall in the external purchasing power of the Irish pound—a decline which would tend to bring about an increased demand for home-produced substitutes, though an offsetting factor would be the increased prices of raw materials.

In a country such as ours with imports normally so much in excess of visible exports, it is open to question whether on balance the benefits conferred on exporters through currency depreciation might not be outweighed by the damage to the import trade. There is the incidental fact that, assuming a 2% depreciation, there would be a gratuitous and indeed unjustifiable addition of £6 m. to the value in Irish pounds (but not in sterling) of the sterling assets of our banks and private investors and an annual increase of over £2$\frac{3}{4}$m. in their purchasing power—not abroad but in this country. But apart from the effects of currency depreciation on the distribution of internal purchasing power, it is evident that as a permanent policy it may fail, since the benefits obtainable by any country can be offset by retaliatory action on the part of other countries. Even if such action was unlikely, there is the further point that a creditor country such as Éire, with sterling assets of some £300 m., is not at all in the same position as

debtor countries such as New Zealand in which currency depreciation was adopted through an imperative need for sterling in order to meet an external indebtedness which ranks amongst the heaviest in the world. It cannot be denied that currency depreciation would provide a temporary cushion for exporters against the worst severities of a trade depression or of deflationary tendencies affecting our principal markets; but Professor O'Rahilly has by no means demonstrated that, in the depths of a world depression, its success would be assured or that its adoption, in more normal times, would confer benefits sufficiently great to outweigh the surrender of those solid advantages of the existing link with sterling which are described in the Majority Report of the Banking Commission.

In advocating a national currency Professor O'Rahilly takes into account that effective control ot exchange rates could not be maintained through the familiar weapons of a Central Bank—open market operations and control of interest rates—so long as that Bank was not the sole ultimate channel through which external indebtedness could be discharged. Since the banks and the public have external assets of £300 m., it is an essential part of his proposal to prevent the possibility of Central Bank action being nullified by the uncontrolled use of these assets. Hence he favours a system of exchange control through a State Reserve Bank, and in order that the Bank should be dominant in national monetary affairs it would be empowered "to fix the cash ratios of the banks, to alter the amount of 'bank-cash' on which they operate, to control the volume of credit in the country in accordance with the country's requirements, to fix the bank rate and therefore the various types of interest which alter with it, to make ways-and-means advances to the Government, to underwrite Government Loans." Professor O'Rahilly's object is not merely to preserve an imparity in exchange rates which may redistribute internal purchasing power; he contemplates the far wider horizon of social reconstruction through social control of exchanges, of currency and of credit. In his own words: "The essential aim would be to ensure that food would in future be exported from this country only for the purpose of providing necessary imports, that people who made money out of business here at home would have to use it in developing this country." Hence, he would canalise all exchange dealings through the Reserve Bank with a view to preventing any accumulation of external assets beyond those which now exist and to ensuring that goods would be exported in future only in return for "socially desirable" imports. Savings which would otherwise be invested abroad would, therefore, be available for the development of enterprises at home—and at a cheap rate, since Professor O'Rahilly suggests that the Reserve Bank "should reduce the deposit rate to $\frac{1}{2}\%$ or less." But failing adequate response

on the part of those who save and those who invest, he would finance, by direct advances by the Central Bank to the Government or to Public Utility Corporations, a long-term policy of national development involving " public works and planned recovery "—in other words new money would be created.

There is an obvious conflict between the suggested adoption of currency depreciation in order to help exporters and of exchange control designed to restrict exports (though also limiting imports). Apart from this, the exchange control suggested by Professor O'Rahilly is more a direct control of exports and imports than of exchange rates. Hence, its object differs from the more normal one of preventing undesirable fluctuations in exchange rates, especially those which of late years arose from large-scale and sudden international movements of funds unconnected with movements of goods. While it is true that many countries have imposed drastic restrictions on complete freedom to export and import goods, such measures have usually been undertaken when, because of war or in preparation for war, the immediate need arose for adequate supplies of vital goods and of foreign exchange. Professor O'Rahilly's justification for the application, as a permanent measure in Éire, of drastic expedients which elsewhere are intended to meet temporary and exceptional conditions is that he aims at an " organised war against poverty "—a war to be conducted with resources which hitherto have been exported in return for external securities or for " socially undesirable " goods.

There is no evidence, however, that there has been any increase in our external assets for a number of years prior to the outbreak of the present war; the likelihood is that there has been some decrease. To a very considerable extent those assets represent profits made during the 1914-18 War. Though they may be again increased because of the circumstances of the present war, there is so little certainty of their increase in normal times that their regulation, for the purposes of social reconstruction, by means of an elaborate and formidable system of exchange control is likely to be disappointing in its results. As for resources obtainable through restricting imports to those which are " socially desirable," Professor O'Rahilly's description of such imports—" raw materials or machinery—and not mere luxuries "—is much too indefinite to provide a foundation for even a guess as to their adequacy for the purposes he has in mind. Indeed, such a host of difficulties would arise in the practical task of distinguishing " socially desirable " goods from others—one's man's luxury being another man's necessity—that it may be reasonably doubted if it could be performed at all satisfactorily—even by means of an expensive, cumbersome and possibly intolerable regimentation of public taste.

Even if the suggested scheme of exchange control was practicable

and was desirable as a long-term feature of our economic life, it would provide no guarantee of additional investment in home enterprises to the extent of the resources potentially available for such investment. Though people may be prevented from purchasing external securities and from importing " socially undesirable " goods, it does not follow that they will maintain the level of their productive efforts and of their savings. Neither is there any assurance that in such circumstances savings will in fact be invested in productive enterprises directly by those who save or by banks with whom savings may be deposited ; or that, despite a reduction in interest rates by the Reserve Bank, the borrowing of savings will be effectively encouraged. Even an increase in the volume of available money through that other weapon of a Central Bank (open market operations) for which there is such limited scope in this country, may fail to stimulate investment. Over the past decade or so there has been ample evidence of the failure of even the most heroic reflationary efforts of Central Banks to bring about genuine economic recovery or progress ; in U.S.A. an unprecedented increase in the volume of money did not prove to be a remedy for economic depression. It has been clearly demonstrated that the mere provision of more money and cheap money, by means of open market operations and low interest rates, has not been of itself sufficient to stimulate economic activity ; there have been such offsetting factors as an increase in the velocity of circulation and such deterrents as immediate increases in wages and in other costs of production.

In such circumstances, where the maximum employment of resources is retarded by purely economic considerations, there remains finally that inflationary expedient which Professor O'Rahilly recommends—the creation of new money by the Reserve Bank for the purpose of directly providing the State and local authorities with such finance as investors are unable or unwilling to subscribe for the undertaking of public works. The interest and sinking fund payments on the sums so expended would presumably be obtained by taxation, since many such works—*e.g.*, afforestation—by their very nature could make little or no immediate contribution to such charges. But there would be the much more substantial taxation which is disguised by inflation and which takes the form of higher prices. Newly created money is no magic wand which provides employment out of nothing ; it is simply a means of taking from one to give to another—a method of compelling the community to expend a certain portion of its income in giving employment on public works. The element of compulsion is equally present if part of the newly created money is expended on imported goods (*e.g.*, raw materials or machinery). Payment for these compels the community to realise external assets, to reduce external purchasing power, and hence either to forgo the imports to

which the income from these assets gave rise or to pay for them out of income hitherto available for other purposes. Thus, on the one hand, public works would be financed by a compulsory appropriation of income and on the other hand by a forced realisation of external securities. Such a scheme of inflation, in its crudest form, is so unpredictable in its ultimate effects, so unscientific in its incidence, and generally so unsatisfactory an alternative to ordinary taxation and government borrowing out of existing savings that its adoption is usually a matter not of choice but of dire necessity. To hold that we have reached a position in Éire in which public works can only be financed by so rash a monetary expedient is indeed unrelieved pessimism.

While no one could possibly disapprove of his ultimate aim—the provision of full scale employment through maximum ultisation of national resources—Professor O'Rahilly cannot expect the same measure of agreement as to his suggested means to this end. To some it may seem that such rigorous restrictions on the free exchange of goods and on the disposal of savings may not only be incompatible with the reasonable exercise of individual liberty, but may defeat themselves by bringing about a reduction both in productive effort and in savings—and hence a weakening of the very foundations of economic strength and progress. But irrespective of whether or not one disagrees with Professor O'Rahilly, one cannot but admit that he has produced a thought-compelling book in relation to one of the most difficult, most important and most urgent of all modern problems—the reconciliation of sociological objectives with economic realities.

James P. Beddy

FATHER PAUL WALSH: THE SCHOLAR

BY PROFESSOR FRANCIS SHAW, S.J.

When in July of last year Rudolf Thurneysen died, the hearts of all who loved Irish scholarship were heavy. They had lost "the most inspiring of teachers and the most sincere of friends." But in his four score years Thurneysen assuredly had warmed both hands at the Celtic flame; and when for him the fire sank, his work was as complete and rounded as falls to the lot of few scholars to accomplish. Less than a year later, at the age of fifty-five, Father Paul Walsh died. But three months before, the National University of Ireland, proud of one of its most distinguished sons, had conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Literature. A few months earlier still, Father Walsh had been called to the Council of the newly founded Higher Institute of Celtic Studies. It was known that he had undertaken the great task of preparing a new edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, not only of the portion of the Annals covered by O'Donovan's first volume but apparently of the whole work. There was question not merely of a revised text, but of the much more comprehensive task of tracing the sources of the entries in the Four Masters and of establishing the relation of these entries to those of the other Irish annals. While he was engaged on this great labour, he died.

Even when leaving aside all detail of biography and any attempt at bibliographical completeness—as is the intention here—it is difficult to commemorate in a few pages the greatness of Father Paul Walsh. He was a scholar in the finest sense of the word. His wide knowledge of languages laid open to him the ancient sources and the modern aids to interpret them. His excellent knowledge of the Irish language and of Irish literature and his familiarity with the medieval Latin background were the foundation-stones of his life's work. He had a phenomenal memory and an exceptional capacity for sustained, intensive study. He cast the net of research widely, and its mesh was of the finest. Whatever was brought up was stored for use at the proper time. A problem is solved by a reference in an English State Paper, by some entry in one of the Annals, by a passage from an old Irish saga, by a Welsh equivalent, by the precise meaning of a technical term of medieval computation, by a citation from an unpublished Irish manuscript, or, as he notes himself in at least one place, by "particulars derived *ex ore matris meae*."

Father Walsh had a passion for accuracy. He checked his sources unfailingly. He was suspicious of anything which came to him at

second-hand. Nothing was more calculated to arouse his indignation than an uncritical repetition of errors which had already been corrected. With a fine sense of scholarly solidarity, he resented as a slight upon a scholar's honour that his errors, when once recognised as such, should be perpetuated by the uncritical. He was certainly intolerant of slip-shod methods and second-rate work, and was often severe in criticism. But he was his own greatest critic, and he never hesitated to correct the slips which he made himself.

Father Walsh was a prolific writer. Besides the books in which he published editions of Irish prose texts, poems and genealogies, we have from his pen an enormous collection of articles on a wide range of subjects—family history, place names, literary history, philology, computation, the Irish Annals, and diocesan history. These articles appeared especially in the *Irish Book Lover*, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, the *Catholic Bulletin*, *Irisleabhar Muighe Nuadhad*, *Studies*, and in journals specially devoted to the Celtic languages and Irish archaeology. The impression which Father Paul's writings make is one of boundless knowledge and great breadth of interest. It is probable that no one since O'Donovan had such an all-round interest in the language, literature, hagiography, topography and general history of Ireland. On all these branches of Irish scholarship Father Paul has left his mark. Of him it might be said, as it was said of another Irish scholar, that he was " a man full of good qualities and knowledge in every science, both law and divinity, physic[1] and philosophy and a scientific knowledge of Irish besides . . . . ." (and we may add with the annalist) . . . . . " and let everyone who will read his work and profit by it bestow a blessing on his soul."[2]

As so much of Father Walsh's work is scattered among so many periodicals, the amount of it might easily be under-estimated. The number of his learned articles would not, I think, fall much short of an hundred ; and though they are to be found in periodicals, they are in no sense ephemeral. They are the fruits of painstaking research, original and critical ; and they form a very rich contribution to our knowledge of Irish history. It is greatly to be hoped that they will be collected and reprinted as a single whole. This would be an immense service to Irish scholarship ; and, I would submit, a most fitting tribute to Father Paul's memory.

When one looks through those articles, so full of solid learning, one realises more acutely the great tragedy of Father Paul's untimely death. One cannot escape the feeling that, in the case of many of them at least, they were but the expression of minor things which

[1] This may be applied to Father Walsh in so far as he threw much light on the history of Irish medical families and scribes.

[2] This is the obituary notice of the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. Vd. AU. sub anno 1498. I give O'Máille's rendering. cf. *Language of Annals of Ulster* p. 5.

interested the traveller as he went his way steadily to a greater goal. They were flowers lopped off that the destined bloom might grow the stronger. The reading of them brings home to us the vastness of the knowledge which perished with his passing. He died at the full height of his intellectual growth, when he had begun what would probably have been the greatest work of Irish scholarship in our times.

Father Walsh's knowledge of the Irish genealogies and of Irish family history was unique. He was unexcelled, too, in his knowledge of the Irish annals, a subject which he made especially his own. He mastered the intricacies of medieval computation ; and at the time of his death he was engaged on a deep investigation of the whole chronology of the Irish annals. The Four Masters especially appealed to him, and in his knowledge of their times and writings he was again unrivalled. He had always a peculiar interest in the history of the Irish Franciscans ; and one rejoices that, in the community room and library of the Franciscan Fathers at Multyfarnham, Father Paul was as much at home as he would have been if he had chanced to fall in one day with the poor Brother, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, and the members of his community.

All through his life Father Walsh devoted much study to the many problems of Irish topography—especially to the problems presented by the place-names of his native county, Westmeath, and of his diocese. Here, as always, he set for himself the highest standard ; and here, perhaps more than elsewhere, the excellence of his scholarship is more readily evident. The subject of Irish topography presents many pitfalls for the unwary. One is always in the proximate occasion of the sin of over-facile identification. It is a temptation which has betrayed even careful scholars into errors of distance and direction. With that sound judgment and unrelenting attention to the minutest detail which characterised him, Father Walsh corrected many an error of this kind. It is a most useful training in itself to watch in his pages the close reasoning which ends in sound conclusion, as he marshals and criticises the facts, adduces references from Irish manuscripts or English State Papers, applies the principles of phonetics and appeals to traditional pronunciation. He never juggles with mere word-forms, never loses touch with reality, never jumps to hasty conclusions. He does not equate forms on account of mere similarity in sound or spelling. He accepts no identification which cannot be harmonised with all the known data, and particularly with the context (if there is a context), and he tests every conclusion with the homely criteria of the compass and the measuring rod. This latter, I think, is a characteristic of Father Walsh's work, which is worthy of special mention ; for it is rare, and it is a refinement of scholarship. These same qualities are found in his studies in genealogy and family history,

the same patience in unravelling what is often a very tangled skein and the same nearness to reality which eschews any mere manipulation of personal names—another pitfall for the unwary—but deals always with men of flesh and blood.

It cannot be said that his writings make easy reading. They are without doubt meat for the strong. His learning was marked by solidity, and that characteristic is reflected in his style, a style rugged and severe which makes no pretence at literary ornament and concedes little to the human weakness of the reader.

Father Paul Walsh was a very great scholar; but he carried his learning lightly. He was modest and shy, and there was in him that simplicity which is the peculiar charm of the great. He had a deep love for his country, for its language and literature and traditions. His great learning did not estrange him from the people amongst whom he had been born and reared. He kept always in his heart a warm place for them; their history and traditions appealed to him in a special way. He would lecture as readily in a parish-hall on the history of the locality as before a learned society; and he often published in a local weekly newspaper an article which would have graced a scientific periodical. As a priest he was loved by his people. When he died, he was mourned by scholars, not only as an eminent scholar, but as a man, great and kindly and lovable; for he shared his learning with unstinted liberality, and his deep store of knowledge was open to all who turned to him.

It pleased God to take him just as he entered upon his greatest work. By his death his people have lost a loved pastor and a kindly friend, and Irish scholarship has suffered an irreparable loss. He died as he laboured to do full justice to the work of the Four Masters. It was fitting that it should be so. In high scholarship, in love for the traditions of his country, and in unselfish toil to preserve them, he was the worthy fellow of the Four Masters. And his name will not be forgotten; for, like them, he accomplished a great work "for the glory of God and the honour of Ireland."

FRANCIS SHAW

DOM LOUIS GOUGAUD, O.S.B.

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J.

Length of days is a boon which no scholar may justly expect, for his work is exacting and of its nature such as keeps him deprived of wholesome air and exercise. Unless Fortune, then, is very gracious he is never likely to reach the scriptural limit of three score and ten. In this respect Dom Gougaud was no exception, for the outward signs of advancing age were hardly beginning to be visible when death overtook him on March 24th.

His loss is a source of very sincere regret to all Celticists. No doubt his life-long interest in their particular world was due to his Breton blood. His early training had been for the Law, and it was not until he had joined the learned Order of St. Benedict that he was in a position to follow freely the scholarly bent of his mind. It was then, perhaps, a little too late to take up seriously an intensive study of the Celtic tongues. To shine amid the splendid luminaries in that field was never his ambition. He concentrated rather on the ecclesiastical problems connected with the Church in Celtic lands—a wise and fruitful choice, as results were soon to prove.

In 1911 there was published in Paris his *magnum opus*, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*. This book was of such excellent quality that it secured for its author a European reputation. Residence in Farnborough, Hampshire, had put him within easy reach of the library of the British Museum, one of the finest libraries in the world. How well he profited by the opportunity thus offered this work showed. An imposing number of the sources in the Celtic languages had by that time been edited and translated. His diligence in using these was exemplary. Not even the smallest lucubration dealing with the Irish, Scotch, Welsh or Breton churches escaped his eagle eye. Noteworthy, too, was the power of logical arrangement and the Gallic orderliness and clarity in his treatment of the subject-matter. But what impressed most of all, and what must be regarded as Dom Gougaud's supreme gift, was the calm, judicial temper with which he handled disputed questions. In the world of Celtic scholarship enthusiasm, effervescence, polemical brilliance in the cause of thesis or party were but too notorious. Dom Gougaud ignored the storm-swept heights and journeyed serenely along a pathway of his own making, untroubled by heat or dust. The value of this book was increased enormously when, revised and enlarged by the author and translated by Miss Maud Joynt, it appeared in 1932 under the title *Christianity in Celtic Lands*.

Another work of outstanding importance from his pen was his *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity*, published in Dublin in 1923. This was in origin a combination of two French essays, one on the work of the early Irish missionaries in Continental Europe (a subject to which he returned in "Les saints irlandais hors d'Irlande," Oxford, 1936) and

the other (by far the more original) on the place of the Irish Saints—surprisingly large—in the folklore of the Continent.

Less well-known, but from the point of view of scholarship worthy of mention beside *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, was his article on " Liturgies celtiques," contributed to the Cabrol-Leclercq *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Tome II, 2, columns 2969-3032) in 1910. In many ways this is a much abler guide than Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881) and is far more reliable; for it is not vitiated by an incurable passion to find, in everything that the Celtic Church did, evidence of anti-Roman bias. There was, indeed, in Dom Gougaud's whole constitution a celestial strain that found falsehood unendurable in any cause.

Very useful, again, to the ecclesiastical historian were his " Inventaire des Règles monastiques irlandaises " (*Revue Bénédictine*, avril-juillet 1908) and his pioneer effort to construct a catalogue of the old Irish monastic libraries (*Féil-Sgribhinn Eóin Mhic Néill*, 319-34). The composition of such articles involved research of a most painstaking kind.

As regular correspondent of the Belgian *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* he delighted in bringing to the notice of its readers—in very truth a select body—books and publications that dealt with Irish affairs.

As a mark of gratitude for these services the National University of Ireland conferred upon Dom Gougaud the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature. More than once he lectured to appreciative audiences in University College, Dublin. A series delivered in 1929 and entitled " Modern Research, with special reference to early Irish ecclesiastical history " was published in booklet form and admired as a little gem of its kind; for it teaches the student principles of sound criticism, warns him against pitfalls like " Froude's Disease," and tells him plainly and frankly what still remains to be done in this extensive department of Irish history.

On the personal side Dom Gougaud was a man of broad culture, of wide but tranquil intellectual curiosity, and of singular charm. His own merits were the one subject on which he would remain inexorably dumb. To understand him fully it was necessary to see him in what may be called his natural surroundings at Farnborough Abbey. Friends who visited him there found him the very soul of hospitality, the living embodiment of that profoundly Christian rule on which St. Benedict, like all the monastic Fathers, laid so much stress. His modesty and recollection, his simple—but totally alert and competent—seriousness, his quiet, unobtrusive courtesy never left him when the calls of scholarship forced him temporarily from the cloister. As a model monk, priest, savant, historian, his name will be blessed and treasured for generations by a grateful Irish people. JOHN RYAN

REVIEWS

Ethics and Politics

DIPLOMACY AND GOD. By George Glasgow. London: Longmans. 1941. 7s. 6d. net.

THE problem which Mr. Glasgow discusses in this book is the absence of "the elementary principles of intelligence in the practice of diplomacy," and his argument throughout consists of a plea for the restoration of such principles. Diplomacy should regulate the civilised intercourse of nations, but in practice it rests upon fraud and force. "The old traditional motive in diplomacy, fairly described as the competitive bid for the world's spoils, has produced what it has produced. It has been divorced from God. The result has been an unbroken series of catastrophes, made worse by the added abuse of every advance in scientific knowledge; for that advance itself, though deriving from God's gifts, has been turned against God's work." (p. 173). The present methods of diplomacy, judged by results, are not merely immoral but stupid. Mr. Glasgow illustrates this by reference to history and by a detailed study of the recent course of European affairs.

Although there may be room for difference of opinion about some of Mr. Glasgow's detailed judgments, there can be no doubt that he abundantly establishes his main conclusion. It is an old and unhappily a recurring problem. Nor is there any facile solution of it while nations follow the methods that have become traditional in the modern world. "There are those who go so far as boldly to argue that, in a world demonstrably not Christian in its collective practice, a distinction must be made between the individual and the public conscience; that in short, while the individual may try to be Christian within the bounds of his individual responsibility, he must consent, if the overwhelming facts compel him, to be un-Christian as a member of the public body. It is a perplexing dilemma, as every honest man has always discovered." (p. 197).

This is the essence of the problem. Christian principles are either everything or nothing. No sphere of man's free action can be regarded as lying outside their scope. And this is precisely the reason why exaggerated ideas of nationality can be so full of moral danger, because they make so strong and so subtle an appeal to what may seem men's generous emotions. The real significance of Machiavelli's ideas in *Il Principe*—whether or no these ideas represent his final and considered opinion—does not lie in the abandonment of natural morality but rather much more in the abandonment of the whole Christian idea.

It would not be possible, in a brief review, to follow out Mr. Glasgow's detailed suggestions for the future intercourse of nations. He is refreshingly optimistic about the outcome of the present gigantic

struggle. Modern warfare, by its very horror, is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole idea of war. The expenditure necessary to carry it on will bring about automatically a salutary re-adjustment of incomes. Not everyone will be able to accept his conclusion that " the unfolding of historical fact during the past half-century compels a belief that the earth-shaking events which have visited us in our time have conformed to a pattern such as ought to fill us helplessly with gratitude and wonder. We are the instruments of a singularly interesting, singularly painful, and singularly good phase of human history. To appreciate it perhaps implies a degree of detachment that many people will regard as inhuman or heartless." (p. 205). D. O'K.

THE RECOVERY OF THE WEST. By Michael Roberts. London : Faber and Faber. 1941. 12s. 6d. net.

FUTURE historians may well agree in estimating that Germany's revenge on the victorious Western powers began in the very year of her defeat with the publication of Oswald Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes*, in which, with a singular mixture of arrogance, intuition and illogicality, he foretold the inevitable doom of Western civilisation. There can be no doubt, at any rate, that this huge and little-read work has played a great part in bringing about one of the strangest and most sudden revolutions in history : the change from nineteenth century optimism, with its ingrained belief that history was " a directed movement pointing to a Utopian future," to the now so prevalent notion that society is moving towards the final stages of a process of decay inherent in its own growth. The title of Mr. Roberts's well-balanced and judicial survey shows that it is intended as a reply to Spengler. Its purpose is to demonstrate that his fatalistic pessimism is quite as illogical as the optimistic belief in inevitable progress which preceded it, and that although there are many things wrong with modern society, they can be accounted for without resort to any cyclic mysticism and put right if only the leaders of thought will have the wisdom to set about the task.

Mr. Roberts's approach to his formidable subject is, as he himself says, strictly pragmatical. He indulges in no vague generalities, and it is characteristic of his method that he should begin with a shrewd examination of the causes for the much-discussed decline in the birth-rate. Here he puts his finger on the centre of the problem by suggesting that this decline has been due in large part to the slowing-down in the increase of real income that was so characteristic a feature of nineteenth century economic development. " On the whole," he says, " the rise in population in the nineteenth century was due to the fact that the death-rate fell much faster than the birth-rate. As industrial and colonial expansion have slowed down, the two have become more nearly equal . . . Up to the present, the fall in the net reproduction-rate in

Great Britain has been no more than was needed to maintain the relation between population and real income." He points out that a little over a century ago demographers were obsessed with the fear that population was growing beyond the resources of the food-supply and looked with horror " to the prospect of a Europe with standing-room only." Their fears were of course proved groundless ; and Mr. Roberts gives reason to think that the same applies to the opposite fears so often expressed to-day.

On the other hand, the motives which in practice lead to the restriction of the family are themselves bound up with other symptoms of cultural decline : the materialism, the concentration on money-making and mechanical pleasures, the isolation and neglect of the arts, and the collapse of all religious belief, produced in turn by the same factors which brought about the great growth of nineteenth century prosperity. Industrial and commercial expansion, as well as the whole rapid process of scientific discovery, had their origin in the revolt which began at least two centuries ago against the traditional scheme of Western society in religion, politics, aesthetic taste, and private morality. The dominant notes of the modern period have been utilitarianism and scepticism ; and these qualities, in Mr. Roberts's view, while at one time they had beneficial results, have now turned into mental anarchy and disillusionment, and have already almost destroyed the very optimistic hopes which they at first bred. Mr. Roberts very skilfully analyses the philosophic reasons for this, showing that in all spheres of life what is lacking today is an appreciation of higher values, a consciousness of any object, outside the individual or the community, towards which both can strive. Alike in politics and in science the principle of freedom from authority, which had its uses as a method of strictly limited progress, has become an absolute, destroying all authority and therewith undermining reason itself. Nothing in Mr. Roberts's book is more effective than his handling of " logical positivism," the ultimate stage at which sceptical rationalism commits suicide. From this he goes on to demonstrate the relationship between authority in morals, politics and aesthetics and the authority of the scientist, in a manner which recalls Newman's *Grammar of Assent* and Father D'Arcy's *Nature of Belief.*

The upshot of the whole subtle and skilfully-conducted argument is that the weapons which were once so useful against the stagnation of a traditional culture have lost their value in the world of to-day. The age of revolt is over, and those who still look to a revolutionary utopia in any sphere are not only dreaming a vain dream but helping to pull down all civilisation about their own and our ears. The need now is not for more revolt, nor is it for any form of blind reaction, which will prove equally destructive. It is rather for the consolidation of the

results that have accrued from a long period of material expansion and for a recovery of the spiritual values without which these results cannot be enjoyed. The rights of man must no longer be sought in isolation from the duties of man, among which is the duty of accumulation to balance what he expends. Mr. Roberts comes perhaps nearest to humour in a very serious debate when he presents Mr. H. G. Wells with "Ten Duties of Man" as a retort to the latter's "Ten Rights." Above all there must be an acknowledgment of the existence of evil as a condition inseparable from the nature of man. On this point, while himself perfectly sound, Mr. Roberts is rash in declaring that "to say that evil is the negation or absence of good is a mere quibble." He should have realised that this definition is not an epigram but a profound philosophic doctrine resting on the very same sort of authority on whose value he insists with such force. By way of the existence of evil, he leads his reader on to the necessity for Christian doctrine, which in his pragmatic way he bases upon the nature and history of Christian civilisation. He is himself, of course, entirely conscious of the weakness of this strictly historical and intellectual approach to Christianity; but he has much that is wise to say about the attacks on the teaching of the Church, which have had the same origin as the other excesses dealt with in his book. "We are asking," he says," neither for dogmatic arrogance nor for an emasculated and half-hearted denominational religion, but for a sceptical and rational criticism of the implicit assumptions of scepticism and rationalism themselves." It is devoutly to be wished that all who claim to be intellectuals should ponder over the sane and moderate argument of this admirable book. M. T.

ITALY IN AFRICA. By Christopher Hollis. London: Hamish Hamilton. 1941. 10s. 6d.

MR. HOLLIS attempts, both opportunely and successfully, to trace the rise of the Italian Empire. The war has taught us the geography of Eritrea and Somaliland; but many will wish to go further and discover how these places came into Italian hands. It is a long and complicated story; but it is very clearly and fairly set out in this book.

Two points will occur to the reader. Firstly, there is a great difference between Italian colonisation and that of other peoples. The history of the Dutch or English or Spanish empires has been made chiefly by individuals, be they traders, missionaries or explorers. The Italian colonies, on the other hand, were acquired more self-consciously; by *combinazioni*, by alliances or changes of alliance. That self-consciousness found repeated expression in the feeling that Italy, as a Great Power, should have her place in the sun. Colonies were prized by Italian nationalists not so much for their intrinsic value as for the prestige which followed their possession. It followed that

in the end Italy found herself with territories which, while they might look impressive on a map, were completely unsuitable for either settlement or development. Successive Governments devoted large sums to the colonies; but while Mr. Hollis describes the extent of their success, he rightly shows that under no conceivable circumstances could the colonies make any serious contribution to Italian prosperity. From first to last the colonies did nothing to relieve the economic position; they prejudiced it.

This is especially true of the conquest of Abyssinia, to which several chapters are devoted. It is clear that Mr. Hollis considers that Italian rule would have been to the advantage of the natives. Nevertheless he sets out, with singular fairness, the arguments in the great sanctionist controversy of 1935. It seems very long ago now since people believed that aggressors could be stopped by measures short of war; but the feelings of the time are revived in these pages. Looking back on the matter it seems that, in the opinion of other countries, Italian complaints of brigandage and barbarism were heavily outweighed by two points. Firstly it was felt that even a colonial expedition might mean a European war in the end and that so great a risk could not be justified by any amount of frontier raids. Secondly the presentation of the war as an Italian mission of civilisation fell very flat indeed. It seemed to many, as they looked around on the chaos of the thirties, that European civilization was a very doubtful boon. The use of bombers and gas on half-armed natives (possibly merciful but scarcely glorious) sharpened the general and growing fear of those trophies of the twentieth century.

Whatever its political effect, the conquest of Abyssinia brought little economic gain. Colonisation was difficult; development of raw materials expensive. Perhaps the most valuable part of this book lies in the passages dealing with Italy's economic position. Fundamentally she suffers from lack of raw materials. It does not seem that she can remedy this weakness by any conceivable colonial gains. It is even less likely that her other need, room for an increasing population, can be met by conquest. Peace, not war, may solve her problems.

It is fortunate, indeed, that Mr. Hollis should have brought these points so clearly to the notice of his countrymen. If the world is ever to regain prosperity and security, the terms of peace must remedy the economic grievances of less favoured nations such as Italy. Colonies must be regarded as storehouses and granaries for all peoples, not as prizes which Great Powers alone are privileged to enjoy. It is a conception which will mean a change of heart in many countries—not least in Italy. Mr. Hollis brings out these points; and he is to be congratulated on dealing so fairly with the needs of an enemy country.

J. F. M.

CANADA: AMERICA'S PROBLEM. By John MacCormac. London: Jonathan Cape. 1941. 10s. 6d. net.

THE BEHAVIOUR OF NATIONS. By Morley Roberts. London: Dent. 1941. 12s. 6d. net.

THE title of Mr. MacCormac's lively and interesting book is rather a detachable epigram than an exact indication of the book's subject. It leads one to expect a treatment of Canada from the American point of view, but the treatment throughout is that of a writer who thinks of Canada as a problem in herself. Perhaps this emphasis is due to the fact that Mr. MacCormac, though by profession an American journalist, was born in Canada of Irish parents. He is thus a living example of the peculiarly intimate and easy relationship between the two neighbouring nations to which he several times draws attention. Canada is traditionally attached to Great Britain; even her large French population has begun to realise that the British connection has its advantages; and she has a tradition of hostility to the United States which is incomprehensible south of her undefended frontier. Yet, in Mr. MacCormac's words, "The United States . . . . has been a benevolent vampire draining Canada of her best product—her people"; and in return Canada has more and more tended to become the playground for the denizens of America's industrialised cities, fifteen millions of whom come annually to fish, hunt, and ski amid her lakes, her forests, and her winter snows.

Canada's problem, as expounded by Mr. MacCormac, lies exactly in this curious dual relationship of attraction and repulsion. Her population of eleven millions is small in comparison with her vast resources, which have expanded very greatly owing to the mineral discoveries of recent years, and has disappointingly failed to increase to the extent so often prophesied by enthusiasts. At its present rate of natural increase it will total only about twenty millions in a century. She is thus inevitably forced to rely for her military protection on some greater Power. Her prosperity is dependent on the British market, since the United States, with its balanced economy, could not possibly absorb her agricultural produce. On the other hand, her military security is clearly linked with that of the United States. Her French population of three and a half millions is increasing far more rapidly than her "Anglo-Saxon" population, with which it is also at variance in its preference for a self-contained country life and for the "extraordinary structure of racialism, religion, piety, scholasticism, paternalism, and authoritarianism" which seems so reactionary to the English-speaking Canadian. It is said to dream of ultimate predominance, by virtue of greater fertility, throughout the whole dominion—a dream which, according to M. André Siegfried, can never be realised, since it will be prevented either by indiscriminate immi-

gration or by a move on the part of English-speaking Canadians for annexation by the United States.

Mr. MacCormac believes frankly that Canada will best preserve her own individuality by becoming " the catalyst in the achievement of an English-speaking union "—a permanent alliance between Britain and the United States. From this standpoint he is rather sharply critical of the policy pursued by Canada's present premier ever since 1919, of " retreating from the Empire and Europe." In so far as this policy tends towards Canadian isolation—which, owing to the immense attraction of the United States, it can do only to a limited degree—it also weakens Canada's potentialities as an intermediary. What is worse is that it has, according to Mr. MacCormac, been unsuccessful; Canada finds herself involved in a second European war twenty years after the first, and although her declaration of war a week later than Great Britain, " as and from the tenth day of September 1939," was in its form and circumstances also a declaration of independence, a prominent Cabinet Minister shortly afterwards announced as almost a law of Canada's being that she could not in practice remain neutral in any British war. Mr. MacCormac holds that the corollary to this doctrine should be participation in the policies which lead to war. " Legislatively, Canada entered the war as a nation; militarily, as a crown colony." The only logical alternative to consultation about policy, he maintains, is for Canada to become a satellite of the United States.

There is far more in Mr. MacCormac's book than mere politics. In his sprightly, epigrammatic style he gives a brief but thorough survey of Canadian history, especially in its relations with the United States since the problem was first created by the migration of the United Empire Loyalists. A chapter headed " Is there a Canadian Nationality? " in which resemblances and differences between the two English-speaking communities are graphically discussed, is followed by one whose heading is significant because of a slight alteration: " There is a French-Canadian Nationality." Then comes an account of Canadian parties and politics, and then another significantly-headed chapter: " Is Canada a Failure? " Mr. MacCormac does not directly answer his own question, but it is easy to see that he does not think it need be answered in the affirmative. The last third of the book is an excellent discussion of economic problems, which supports this impression and ends on a thoroughly optimistic note.

Mr. Morley Roberts's book is a sequel to one which appeared a couple of years ago, entitled *Bio-politics*. It seems to have been inspired by a recent theory which held that termite communities are not collections of ants but themselves living beings. Mr. Roberts has applied this idea to politics, and his two books have been written

to show that nations are really a kind of animal in a rudimentary stage of evolution. The laws which govern them are thus biological laws; conceptions like morality or justice are grotesquely irrelevant, and the only judgment possible is one which relates survival to fitness. Mr. Roberts is not unaware that he is merely stating in a rather unhelpful modern jargon what was already stated more picturesquely by Hobbes in his *Leviathan*. It cannot be said that his book is likely to bring much illumination even to those who already adhere to a dreary and essentially irrational creed. M. T.

Economic History

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Edited by J. H. Clapham and the late Eileen Power. Volume I—The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages. Cambridge University Press. 1941. 30s.

THIS magnificent volume is the first of a series of studies of European economic history which is doomed by the war to stand alone for, it is to be feared, many years. For the work is essentially one that entails the collaboration of scholars from all parts of the world, and such scholarly collaboration is, alas, impossible to-day. No formal narrative could better convey a sense of how the lights of Europe have gone out one by one in recent years than the account in the Preface of the fate of the foreign scholars whose contributions had been promised when the work was being originally planned. Another heavy blow that the volume encountered in its preparation was the unexpected and premature death of Professor Eileen Power. In spite of these difficulties and of the outbreak of war, Professor Clapham has nobly persevered in the publication of the first of the three volumes intended to be devoted to the mediaeval period. The second volume, some chapters of which are already written, will deal with industrial and commercial conditions, and the third with credit, public and private finance, coinage, prices and mediaeval economic doctrine and practice. True to the traditions of the great Cambridge historical collections, the work is distinguished by its scholarly perfection. The text is enriched by many illustrations and maps, and the bibliographies, which extend to fifty pages of small type, are invaluable.

In the Middle Ages, more even than in other periods of history, economic life was rooted in the soil, and the whole economic superstructure rested on an agricultural basis. The first volume of the series—which can stand on its own as an independent work, even if the later volumes never see the light of day—deals with agrarian problems: the earth, the crops, the peasant's toil; how villages and fields were occupied and laid out; how and with what cattle and

implements they were tilled; what the society was that they maintained. A group of chapters is devoted to the great sweeping movements which affected all Europe—settlement and colonization, agricultural technique, the rise of the *seigneurie* or manor, and the operation of those forces which were transforming the rural life of late mediaeval times. In other chapters the conditions in particular countries or regions are described at the height of the Middle Ages, which, in the greater part of Europe, meant the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. The various influences which were moulding European life during those formative centuries are traced, particular attention being directed to the interplay of the competing ideals of the urban traditions of Roman and the rural traditions of German civilization. The decline and transition of the mediaeval agrarian system is attributed to the growth of a monetary economy, the commercialization of agriculture and the transformation of the *seigneurs* into a rent-receiving class.

It is impossible, in a short review, to mention more than a small portion of the subjects dealt with in this survey, which is encyclopaedic in scope. While addressed primarily to students of economic history, the work contains abundant material of great value for all who are interested in the history of agricultural technique or in the development of land tenures. The third chapter, entitled "The Evolution of Agricultural Technique," by Professor Parain, is full of interesting information about the practice of farming in the Middle Ages, much of which is quite new to English readers. Throughout the whole study evidence keeps cropping up of the great advances in every branch of agriculture and horticulture which were due to the activities of the monasteries. The land reclamation achievements of the Cistercians were particularly notable. The very width and variety of the subjects studied seem to demand that some unifying introduction or conclusion should have been supplied by the editors. Professor Clapham states that he and his colleague had considered making some such generalizations in the Preface; but, "lacking the essential check of her knowledge and criticism," he decided to refrain from doing so. There is no question that the volume loses much in value by this regrettable decision. In spite of his modesty, the surviving editor could have greatly enhanced the value of the treasure house which he has thrown open to his readers by providing them with a plan of its contents. G. O'B.

ADVISORY BOARDS. A Study of their Uses in relation to Central Government. 1919-1939. Edited by R. V. Vernon and N. Mansergh. London: Allen & Unwin. 1941. 18s.

The survival of democratic modes of government depends largely upon the securing for the administration of competent advice. The alleged superior efficiency of totalitarian over democratic modes of government

is based on the former's more adequate expert assistance. During war the field of government action in every country necessarily extends ; and the continuance, during the ensuing period of peace, of some of the improved devices of administration adopted in war might be productive of valuable results. During the last war the British Government invaded many fields of activity in which no Civil Service precedents or traditions were available, and assistance was consequently sought from committees of experts outside the public service. This practice of seeking outside advice was continued and extended after the war, with the result that British legislation in the post-war years was based on an expert interpretation of popular opinion. The gap between the Civil Service and the general public was bridged by the existence of a number of bodies of the most diverse constitution in which expression was given to the views of experts, of interested parties and of popular political opinion. The efficiency of the machinery of government was greatly increased by these advisory and consultative bodies which prevented civil servants from developing into irresponsible bureaucrats.

The experience in Great Britain of the constitution and employment of bodies set up to advise the central, as distinguished from the local, government in the years 1919-1939 is reviewed in this volume, which is the outcome of co-operative research by the Oxford University Political Research Group under the chairmanship of Sir Arthur Salter. The treatment is selective rather than exhaustive. The advisory bodies connected with nine departments of government are fully described, while lists of advisory bodies appointed by other departments are provided in an appendix. In the course of the discussion much new information about the inner workings of the British administrative machine is brought to light. Students of economics will be particularly interested in the account of the relations between the Treasury and the City and in the descriptions of the operations of the Cunliffe, Colwyn, May, Macmillan and other famous inquiries in the economic and financial field. The failure of the Economic Advisory Committee, set up in 1930, to develop into something in the nature of an economic general staff is explained by the difficulties of the depression and by the disapproval of the Treasury of its first constructive proposal. While the authors of the different chapters are descriptive rather than critical, certain general conclusions regarding the scope, composition, terms of reference and procedure of advisory bodies are reached, which are summarised and integrated by the editor in the final chapter.

These conclusions cannot fail to be of interest to Irish readers concerned with the combination of democracy and efficiency in the government of their country. In the twenty years since the Treaty many valuable and important reports have been made by commissions

of inquiry on Irish affairs. Many of these reports have influenced the course of legislation, and they have helped to educate public opinion on difficult economic and social problems. Both Irish Governments have certainly had recourse to the method of the advisory body as a preliminary to legislation, and there can be no doubt that many errors of haste and uninformed enthusiasm have been avoided as a result. The Banking Commission, however, expressed the opinion that there had been a certain lack of continuous consultation between the Government and business and financial circles, and that policies had been adopted without the full appreciation of their consequences which such contacts would have revealed. It is to be hoped that this defect in our administrative machinery may be repaired. If such an attempt to improve the machinery of Irish government is being made, considerable help will be derived from a study of this informative and authoritative work. G. O'B.

Drama

PURPLE DUST. By Sean O'Casey. Macmillan. 1940. 6s.

THE Stage Irishman is glorious and fine ; but at the same time, whether his creator means it or not, he is rather contemptible. Mr. O'Casey in his latest play gives us, not real Dubliners as once, not prophetic and propagandist abstractions as lately, but Stage Irishmen— and Stage Englishmen. The " poetry talk " of the former is up to date, for these labourers and foremen pour forth the adjectival and rhythmic abundance of Synge, Joyce and translated Gaelic, and the phrasing in itself is often delightful. They have as well as that the sure and cynical grip on things of Shaw's realistic Irishman, and the stage directions often make them speak *very quietly and firmly.* Shaw thought that our romancers and our realists were separate, and that that was our trouble. O'Casey rolls them into one and makes his Irish altogether superior beings, if they were credible and acceptable at all.

Stoke and Poges, rich middle-aged Saxons already provided with Irish mistresses, settle in a remote part of Ireland in a dilapidated Tudor mansion, of whose dilapidation they try, in their foolish Saxon manner, to make the best. Workmen are busy repairing the mansion all the time, and the neighbours come along to sell bargains. Rather amusingly, the Saxons of this day have gone beyond Shaw's. They know enough about Ireland to have learned the language, that is the language of Kiltartan, before they come, and they bandy it very colourably with the natives. Successive adventures with a bull, a lawn roller so unsuitable that it flattens a wall, a telephone that won't work, and endless rebuilding accidents, go to show the limitations of the Saxon and the superiority of the Celt. All ends with a symbolical *ex machina* catastrophe : the green waters of the river rise and overwhelm the Tudor house and the decadent Saxons, while their ladies.

Shadow of the Glen fashion, seek freedom with the foreman and one of the labourers.

Here is a Saxon speaking: "(*Musingly*) What a rascal that man must be who sold me the roller! In this simple country, among a simple people, where the very air is redolent with fairy lore, that such a dangerous and materialistic mind should be lurking!" And here is an Irish builder's foreman, saying what he thinks of a Saxon poet whom the Saxons do not read: "A tired-out oul' blatherer; a tumble-down thinker; a man who made a hiding-place of his own life; a shadow parading about as the sun; a poet, sensitive to everything but man; a bladder blown that sometimes gave a note of music; a fool who thought the womb of the world was Wordsworth; a poet who jailed the striving of man in a moral lullaby; a snail to whom God gave the gleam of the glow-worm; a poet singing the song of safety first!"

Such flashes of good thought and phrase are plentiful in Mr. O'Casey's queer play—a play which could only be staged as elaborately burlesque, and which is perhaps after all so intended. J. J. H.

History and Philosophy

HISTORY AS THE STORY OF LIBERTY. By Benedetto Croce. London: Allen and Unwin. 1941. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS book consists of a series of essays dealing with the problem of the general nature of history, particular emphasis being laid on the relation between the writing of history and practical action. The introductory essay aims at giving explicit unity to the other essays, which apart from this might appear somewhat detached and disconnected. In previous writings Croce has developed his general view of the nature of history, and the present book is not offered in replacement but "only to add new considerations born of my further studies and stimulated by new experience of life." He points out that "all the problems of historical thought are difficult when, as in this book, it is viewed as the sole form of knowledge." This is one of the author's most typical views. Obviously it is highly paradoxical; but the paradox is central in his philosophy. The arguments he offers in Part I, Chapter v, are entirely insufficient to support his conclusions. Every judgment, according to this view, is "an historical judgment or, quite simply, history." History completely fills and exhausts the field of knowledge, "leaving no room for anything else." One reason for this is that all concrete knowledge is "bound to life, that is to action." "Knowledge for the sake of knowledge, so far from having anything aristocratic or sublime about it (as some believe), would be an idiotic pastime for idiots, or for the idiotic moments which we all have in us."

Natural science, with its complement and instrument, mathematics, is also apparently a part of history, because it is based on the practical requirements of life. When " it makes abstractions, builds classes, stabilizes relations between classes and calls them laws, gives mathematical formulae to these laws, and so on," it is not, it seems, " true and proper knowledge." These are accessory labours. Genuine knowledge always arises under the stimulus of events, and is therefore, historical. This kind of argument has been made familiar to us by Pragmatism, although Croce gives it a peculiar colouring of his own. It is, of course, obvious that the *occasion* of knowledge is always in some sense historical, but this does not prove that its *content* is equally so. A theory of history which makes it so wide that it embraces the content of natural science and mathematics would be useless in practice; for within history, as so understood, we should have to find a place for the special sciences and for history itself in the narrower sense.

History again is " the story of liberty." This view of history inevitably recalls Hegel. But Hegel, according to Croce, had not got at the genuine significance of the theory. " Hegel and his disciples used it with the significance . . . . . of a history of the first birth of liberty, of its growth, of its maturity and of its stable permanence in the definite era in which it is incapable of further development." Here it is used " to maintain that liberty is the eternal Creator of history and itself the subject of every history. As such it is, on the one hand, the explanatory principle of the course of history and, on the other, the moral ideal of humanity." (p. 59). All this may be important, but it is very difficult to reconcile with the view that all judgments are historical judgments. A view like this is not itself history but a philosophical and moral interpretation of it. How could any study of the bare facts of history enable us to conclude that liberty is the moral ideal of humanity ?

Moreover, Croce maintains that it is no part of the work of the historian to pass moral judgments on historical events or historical characters. He admits that it is very natural to do so, and the reasons he gives for its illegitimacy seem peculiarly inadequate. " Value-judgments," he tells us, " fulfil their office only in connection with things of the present and should not be transferred to representations of the past." This is an astonishing limitation, as is evident if we apply it to aesthetic judgments. Another reason is that " our tribunals (whether juridical or moral) are present-day tribunals designed for living, active and dangerous men, while these other men have already appeared before the tribunal of their day and cannot be condemned or absolved twice." They are " men of the past who belong to the peace of the past." One remembers the contrary view of Lord Acton. Croce's theory implies that moral judgments are merely relative;

and this conclusion, whatever else it is, is certainly not a mere historical judgment. His exclusion of moral judgments from history is apparently not " a self-denying ordinance " ; for he does not regard the Jesuits as " men of the past who belong to the peace of the past." He tells us (p. 55) that " the Jesuits made good use of this indetermination for the most immoral ' direction of the intentions '." The reference is more than a little obscure.

The author has some admirable criticism of the attempts made by Hegel and Marx to detect a scheme in history. He points out the futility of a theory which " pursues universal history until this receives its crown in the Germanic world considered as a world of full liberty with the Prussian state held up as the consummate and final political form." Again, " the Marxist concept, with its coarse economic Absolute . . . . . purporting to manipulate events, has been confuted openly or implicitly by every subsequent economic, historical and philosophical criticism." He himself believes in something equally vague and logically contradictory—" the infinite progress of the infinite spirit, which perpetually generates new contrasts and perpetually rises superior to them." If the spirit is genuinely infinite, it is extraordinarily difficult to understand how it could in any real sense progress. To discover a scheme and a rhythm in history is a task of quite exceptional difficulty, and one does not need to be peculiarly sceptical to re-echo the remark of Mr. Quiller-Couch : " ' The great artist history ! ' Call up your courage and say with Betsy Prig that ' you don't believe there is no sich a person '."

D. O'K.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE INTELLIGIBLE UNIVERSE IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF PLOTINUS. By A. H. Armstrong. Cambridge University Press. 1940. 7s. 6d.

WHEN the Emperor Gallienus vetoed Plotinus's project of constructing a Platonopolis on the model of the *Republic*, Plotinus heroically abjured the whole universe and built for himself his Neoplatonopolis in his own mind. This feat is the subject of Mr. Armstrong's erudite and ingenious study. He maintains, however, that the city of Plotinus is the city of the real universe. Plotinus is not an idealist, for his identification of the mind with its object is merely the Aristotelean intentional identity of thought. Nor is he an agnostic, for he in fact attributes predicates to the One, though he denies that any such predicates are attributable ; this denial can however be explained by his determination to conceive of the One as transcendent, incapable of the qualifications of lower realities. Neither therefore is he a pantheist, for this transcendence is the very opposite of the immanence

of pantheism. God, in fact, can be conceived at least analogically, as St. Thomas teaches.

However much one may sympathise with this effort to vindicate a philosopher who drew Augustine towards the Church and, through him, influenced all Christian thought, it is difficult to accept so kindly a view. It is true that Plotinus explicitly teaches the analogy of being, a principle that would redeem him from pantheism and agnosticism if only he allowed us to predicate being of the One (Enn. VI. 9. 5). It is true that, to speak at all of the One, he is constrained to endow it with predicates in violation of his doctrine elsewhere avowed. But two points seem decisive in favour of the indeterminacy of the One as the genuine conviction of Plotinus: the greater emphasis with which he states this doctrine or its logically coherent principles, and the logic of his whole system. His agnosticism and his idealism are interdependent, and it seems hard indeed to reconcile belief in extramental being with so downright a statement as this, for instance: *Μία τοίνυν φύσις αὕτη ἡμῖν, νοῦς, τὰ ὄντα πάντα, ἡ ἀλήθεια· ἢ δὲ Θεός τις μέγας· μᾶλλον δέ οὐ τὶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ἀξιοῖ ταῦτα εἶναι* (V. 5. 3c f VI. 7. 9 &c.) Elsewhere, if Plotinus seems to assert extramental being and the *real* transcendence of the One, he is speaking of the universe not as it really is but as it presents itself to thought.

For here we are constrained by the logic of the system. The master-thought of Plotinus, as not even Mr. Armstrong denies, is that the Supreme is infinite in so absolute a way as to be inaccessible to all the determinations of the finite even to thought, even to being. It is therefore only a penumbra of the mind, a shadowy source from which are born all things that it knows. But they are born into the mind, for a shade can only beget a shade; an idea that is no more than an idea cannot be the Creator of things independent of thought. Hence a monism of the Vedantic type; the human mind does not create the world, but is with the world and the One identified with the ideas of God, the cosmic *Νοῦς*. This is the only real being; and though it may not be *called* God, it can be nothing else. Plotinus's philosophy is therefore an escapist philosophy, inspired by the then threatening chaos of thought and of society. Nevertheless it seems impossible to make any interpretation of Plotinus so convincing as to deprive all others of probability; and Mr. Armstrong everywhere displays such competence both as a Hellenist and as a philosopher that his opinion must be taken seriously by serious students.

One detail, however, remains to be noted because of its bearing on the understanding of an even greater philosopher than Plotinus. In the *Republic* (509) the Good is said to be *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*. Mr. Armstrong (after Burnet) translates this crucial phrase as *beyond being*. But the precise meaning of *οὐσία* is essence, though it often

means substance in Aristotle; it is distinguished from εἶναι in the very context of this phrase; and, if translated in Mr. Armstrong's way, it will deprive the Good of all reality and reduce Plato's central doctrine rather conspicuously to nonsense. A. L.

The Church and International Order

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER. By A. C. F. Beales. London: Penguin Special. 1941. 6d.

IN the year 1599 Hugh O'Neill, while still practically master of Ireland in arms, addressed to Queen Elizabeth and her Council a document which he entitled: *For Peace in Ireland or Else Not.* When we read it now, in the light of after events, we are astonished at its moderation and filled with admiration for its wisdom. We feel that the title was justified—indeed amazingly correct. And we wonder that any statesmen at any time could wantonly reject proposals so temperate, so conciliatory and so wise. But the Queen and her advisers turned them down with contempt. They thus made one of those great refusals which stud the pages of history and lead invariably to a punishment that fits the crime.

Mr. Beales's little volume might well be entitled *For Peace in the World or Else Not;* and I add *Absit omen!* in view of the analogy. It places fairly and squarely before an agonizing generation the fundamental issues which have to be faced. Its importance can in no sense be measured by its size—unless, perhaps, by saying that it is in inverse proportion to its length. For it is just the kind of book which the precise circumstances of the hour call for. All scholars know that Catholic philosophy has been copiously and ably expounded in a thousand volumes. But these volumes were, often of necessity, both long, subtle and difficult. They were not written for the multitude. And in non-Catholic lands and circles they were simply ignored; *Catholica non leguntur* was the very watchword of the nineteenth century.

This widespread boycott has been lifted a little in recent years. Sobered by the bankruptcy of the various systems which sought to supplant the Church and now thoroughly alarmed by the practical consequences, men are everywhere more prepared to re-examine Catholic teaching than at any time for four centuries. But in the meantime they have drifted so far away from traditional modes of thought that they have the greatest difficulty in understanding what was once enshrined in their daily prayers and presupposed in all their arts and sciences.

Hence the work that is now incumbent upon the Church is to re-educate even those nations that still style themselves Christians in the fundamental truths lying at the basis of the civilisation we inherit. Mr.

Beales reproaches us with not having made anything like the requisite endeavour. He contrasts our apathy with the energy and enthusiasm which writers like Mr. Wells display in conveying their message to the multitude.

There is some justice in the reproach. (There will now be much less in consequence of his own achievement in this brochure). But Catholics everywhere labour under the disadvantage of not commanding the ear of the world. All the great agencies of publicity and propaganda are in the hands of men who are either bitterly hostile to the faith or, more often perhaps, just indifferent. They genuinely think that the Catholic Church is a thing of the past, a moribund institution without influence in the present or significance for the future. They feel as if history had passed final verdict on its claims, which need not in consequence be reconsidered. From time to time a Papal Encyclical or Allocution may attract attention and find its way into the columns of the world press or get relaid by the world radio. Even then its publicity value depends generally on extrinsic circumstances; and comments upon it vary according as it lends itself to exploitation (generally with some distortion or manipulation) in the interest of national or party propaganda. All idea of sitting at the feet of pope or priest and being taught by either has disappeared from most sections of society everywhere.

Hence what is needed most of all is a multiplication of just such books and pamphlets as the one under review. Mr. Beales here sets a headline for others and gives them a model which it will be difficult to improve upon but quite sufficient to equal. He writes with an all-round competence which is astonishing. He does not lay claim to any special personal authority. He hardly speaks for himself at all. He writes very much as an advocate speaks from a brief. But he has made up his brief—a tremendously long, subtle and difficult brief—with a conscientious thoroughness which cannot be over-praised. And he presents his case with a skill and literary craftsmanship which will stir to envy any writer who has ever undertaken a similar task. The result is about as perfect a synopsis of the Catholic philosophy as one can well imagine. It is wonderfully complete—granted the narrow compass of 192 pages—well ordered, well documented from the best authorities, and written in so clear and workmanlike prose that any intelligent reader can follow the argument from the beginning to the end without difficulty. In a word, it is almost ideally successful in the sense that it does exactly what it set out to do and does it superbly well.

We must be very grateful that such a fine presentation of the Catholic viewpoint has found in the *Penguin Specials* a chance of reaching a really wide circle of readers, particularly those readers whom in general Catholic publications never reach. For they and all of us are being

swallowed up in a maelstrom of disasters from which, if there be escape at all, it can only be along the lines indicated here. May it be widely read and universally digested by all who have any responsibility for the direction of public affairs! P. J. GANNON

Miscellaneous

MIDDLE EAST. By H. V. Morton. London: Methuen. 1941. 8s. 6d. net.

GRANDEUR ET DECADENCE DE L'ASIE. Par F. Grenard. Paris: Collection Armand Colin. 1939. 15 fr.

IT is hardly necessary at this date for a reviewer to praise Mr. H. V. Morton's travel-books. For years they have been among the world's best-sellers, and there will be few readers who have not at least dipped into one or more of them. Mr. Morton has divided his time pretty fairly between the British Isles and the Levant, but his great reputation rests on his books about the latter region. Since the war began, he tells us, he has received many letters from soldiers serving in the Middle East asking for thin paper editions of his three books: *In the Steps of The Master*, *In the Steps of St. Paul*, and *Through Lands of the Bible*. As such editions are impossible in present circumstances, he has gone part of the way to meet the wishes of his admirers by putting together selected chapters out of all three to make one general book dealing with travel in Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, Turkey, and Greece. But this book is more than a mere selection, for he has added to it impressions of Greece and of Istanbul now printed for the first time.

There can be no doubt as to the success of his enterprise; indeed it may even prove that, like many commodities, travel-books are really better in a more concentrated form. How far readers at present in the Near East will find their requirements met is a question which of course only they themselves can decide. The stay-at-home seeker for interesting information agreeably conveyed will quite certainly enjoy this generous sample of Mr. Morton's wares and have his appetite sharpened for more. The book begins well with the story of a journey from Alexandria to Mersa Matruh, and goes on to describe the oasis of Siwa, home of the Senussi sect, the inside of the Great Pyramid, the customs and ceremonies of the Copts as seen at close quarters, the monasteries of the Wadi Natrûn, refuge of the earliest Christian cenobites, and the tombs of the Pharaohs at Luxor. Passing from Egypt to Palestine, the reader is brought to Jerusalem, with its churches and tombs, to Bethlehem and Galilee, and ends his visit with the strange Abyssinian ceremonies connected with the Crucifixion. Next he is taken by the desert coach to Baghdad, visits the ruins of Babylon, then turns north and enters Turkey by train to Adana, visiting in turn Tarsus, Konya, and Ephesus, and ending at Istanbul after having

admired the revolutionary changes in Turkish habits brought about by Ataturk. Finally he is conducted through Greece from Kavalla to Olympia, with many engaging glimpses of a heroic people as they were before their recent ordeals.

Mr. Morton writes with ease and charm, and can produce now and then a striking epigram or a dramatic contrast. Though always present in his own person, he has the skill not to obtrude himself and even to make his reader sympathise with his frank but unaggressive Englishness. He can reproduce the Oriental atmosphere with a kind of simple vivid reality that is all his own, and though of course no one will expect the strict accuracy of scholarship from him—there are a good few misspellings, the worst being that of the Greek name for the wild olive of Olympia, and some tall stories such as the twice-repeated one about Cynegirus, brother of Aeschylus—yet he does convey enough information at least to stimulate his readers and gives proof of having himself read as widely as he has travelled.

M. Grenard's little book is one of a collection similar to the English Home University Library. Its subject is cleverly chosen to enable old facts to be seen in a new light. Nowadays Asia is hardly any longer a source of peril to Europe—indeed the reverse is very much the case—but M. Grenard shows how very recent is this state of affairs and for what an immense period of time the leading role in the world was played by the larger continent. Only in the first few pages of his book does he treat of antiquity; his main concern, indeed, is with Islam, and his longest chapters are devoted to the Ottoman Empire. Here there is a link between him and Mr. Morton, for both tend to think of the old Turkey as the ghost of Byzantium. M. Grenard's opening words on the strange rise of the Ottoman power might serve as an introduction to his book: "L'histoire est une série de miracles que l'habitude et la paresse d'esprit font paraître communs et naturels." It is in this spirit that he shows us Europe as the pupil of Asia which has at last grown to overcome its teacher. There is room for infinite speculation as to the causes for the immense and comparatively recent change in the relation of the two continents. That M. Grenard's treatment of the subject is vigorous and fully thought out by himself may be seen from another quotation: "La scolastique honnie et méprisée avait eu de très grands mérites et nous devons la placer à la base de la formation intellectuelle de l'Europe,donc de sa grandeur."

M. T.

CARLYLE ET LA PENSEE LATINE. By Allan Carey Taylor. Pp. 442. Paris: Boivin. 1937. 60 frs.

H. D. Trail said of Carlyle in 1896: "His gloomy prophecies (such as that industrialism, pursued in a *laissez-faire* and materialistic fashion,

would make life intolerable, and that democracy would fail) lose their force when we see them belied by facts." And Professor Routh in *Towards the Twentieth Century* (recently reviewed), notwithstanding facts that have added themselves to experience since Trail wrote, nevertheless finds Carlyle an exploded prophet. Mr. Taylor's fuller work on this particular author confirms Professor Routh in so far as he finds that in contemporary England Carlyle counts for little. But he explains this differently. Carlyle was listened to and his teaching applied to a large degree, though in the muddling, compromising, English way; Carlyle, he finds, saved England from utter moral corruption and economic individualism. He is forgotten, not because his lesson is useless but because it has been learned. Outside of England he counted and still counts. Professor Grierson, in his pamphlet *Carlyle and Hitler*, showed how much of his thought has gone into National Socialism. Mr. Taylor gives the full history of his influence on Latin thinkers, which culminates in Italian Fascism and the recent Spanish insurrection. In Italy something has been realized which is very like Carlyle's programme, and which is in a measure anyhow traceably derived from it. That alone shows that Carlyle is still a force to be reckoned with.

Space will not allow us to follow Mr. Taylor through his very full account of Carlyle's influence in France, Italy and Spain. But we may glance at a few of the main episodes in each country.

France became interested in Carlyle in 1848, when Montégut and others thought he offered remedies for her perplexities. He was much quoted and written on by both sides until 1852, when the advent of Napoleon III contented the conservatives and silenced the others. Strangely, he perhaps had something to do with the imperial episode. Louis Napoleon was in England when Carlyle gave the lectures *On Heroes and Hero-worship*. All society was attending them; and if he did not attend them, he certainly heard them discussed. Perhaps Carlyle's doctrine nerved him to his adventure; and pretty clearly the *Frederick* influenced him a good deal later on.

Taine's study in 1860 had the important result that Carlyle began to be translated into the Latin languages—an enterprise from which there had long been a natural shrinking. This made him accessible to more than the few who knew English very well.

From 1880 to 1900, France saw two great revolutions of thought: an idealist reaction against naturalism and positivism, and a political reaction, developing the ideas of Taine and Renan in their later years. When Barrès defended the rights of intuition and of the instinctive tradition of the race against the pretended superiority of reason, he was deriving largely from Carlyle. Bourget knew him well too. In fact, the *Heroes* was a favourite book of that generation. To it may

probably be ascribed the rebirth of the *king* idea in France. Yet, strangely, the subsequent French authoritarians and royalists, such as Maurras and Daudet, have ignored Carlyle.

In Italy, Mazzini wrote excellently on Carlyle in 1840. But no other Italian touched him for forty years. He could not be interesting until the industrial revolution there had reached the stage it was at in the England he wrote of. In the 80's, when Italy had come to be utterly positivist in philosophy, liberal in politics, her art given over to *verismo*, E. Nencioni proposed to Italian youth the reading of the *Heroes* as a healthy antidote. Of the rising idealists, Croce and Gentile owed nothing to Carlyle, but he influenced Fogazzaro and Oriani considerably. Oriani was one of the precursors of Fascism. Like Barrès in France at the same time, he found materials for a new teaching in Carlyle : the identification of *mights* and *rights* (that is, of capacities and duties, different from the unmoral Nietzschean equivalence of mere force with right), the exaltation of the dignity of work, the necessity of suffering, the respect for racial tradition. As Italian conditions became more like those of Chartist England, with the May days of '98 and the September days of '04, with strikes and socialist victories at the polls, such men as the economist Professor L. Einaudi continued to proclaim Carlyle as the apostle of a better social order. After the war, again, he was much appealed to in the troubles of Italy. G. Fornelli expounded his doctrines in 1921, on the eve of the March on Rome, concluding : " Perhaps in a very near future it may be seen that he did not speak in vain." Since the establishment of Fascism, Italians have widely recognized him as a precursor. G. Licciardelli in his *Benito Mussolini e Tommaso Carlyle* (1931) writes : " Carlyle is the apostle of a new social order, of which, one hundred years later, it was to be given to Benito Mussolini to lay solid foundations, beginning the realisation of the work the great English idealist had conceived." Carlyle has been frequently quoted in the discourses on heroism and hierarchy which naturally abound under the régime ; and the detailed foreshadowings in *Past and Present* of such things as the military regimentation of workers and the concernment of the state with their conditions of work and their entertainment have been fully brought out. Indeed, but for the Anglophobia caused by the Abyssinian war, Carlyle would probably by now have been canonised a saint of the régime.

In Spain, that great writer Unamuno translated the *French Revolution* in 1900–2, and in doing so made Carlyle's thought his own. Chief of the idealist " generation of '98," he proclaimed the superiority of faith, intuition and spirituality over dry rationalism. He found in the Carlylean style and humour something that helped him back to the richer and bolder style of Spain's great days, and to the Cervantesque

attitude. The mind of modern Spain has been largely shaped by Unamuno, and thus indirectly by Carlyle.

Another follower of Carlyle's, still living, is J. Ortega y Gasset. He is known to us by the translation in 1932 of his *Revolt of the Masses*, in which he sharply and forcibly expounds the doctrine of aristocracy. Without its betters (however they are to be chosen or found), humanity, he declares, " must cease to be itself, though Europe may care to spend a century with its head under its wing, ostrich-like, trying not to recognize so obvious a truth." Carlylean, too, is his contempt for the folly of " stupid and elementary innovators, who think that to desire a thing is the same as being able to have it." It is clear that *el jefe*, no less than the *duce* and the *Führer*, will have among his ancestors the Hero-King.

Mr. Taylor refrains from committing himself politically. Only at the end he briefly asks : What would Carlyle say of the contemporary pleiad of hero-kings ? Would he approve or would he reject one or all of them, as he did his pupil Napoleon III, whom he nicknamed *the Brummagem French Cromwell ?* Nor does Mr. Taylor go outside his task to inquire what elements besides the Carlylean heroic have entered into modern dictatorship. Has not its very contrary entered into it, giving a strange combination of the hero with the demagogue, which, with all his clairvoyance, Carlyle never foresaw ?

Mr. Taylor is concerned with philosophical and social thought, and says little of purely literary matters. Indeed, Carlyle, because of the peculiarity of his manner, has necessarily had little influence on the style of his foreign disciples, except some of the Spaniards. But one important episode in literary history Mr. Taylor handles really well : the hitherto disputed and ill-handled influence of the *French Revolution* on Carducci's splendid sonnet-sequence *Ca ira*. Those twelve marvellous etchings of the great moments of September 1792, probably the greatest poetry made out of the French Revolution, come, strangely enough, from an Italian poet's reading of an English historian.

One might wonder why the name of D'Annunzio does not appear in the book. Surely Carlyle had some share, however indirect, in the formation of that supreme hero-worshipper. But perhaps this is asking Mr. Taylor to follow Carlyle's ideas into too remote a transmutation.

This admirable book is No. 8 in the series of *Études de littérature étrangère et comparée*, directed by MM. Paul Hazard and Jean-Marie Carré and published in connection with the *Revue de littérature comparée*.

J. J. H.

IRELAND. CENSUS OF POPULATION, 1936. Volume V. Part II. Ages and Conjugal Conditions classified by occupations and industries. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1941. 3s.

It must be admitted that even already this volume seems out-of-date. After the lapse of five years—half the intercensal period—a fair amount of this picture of Irish life must have ceased to correspond to reality. The rush to join the Army, the departure of reservists from civil life, the increasing industrial unemployment, the emigration to Great Britain—all of which have marked the last two years—find no reflection in these pages.

They depict a country in which a vigorous policy of industrialisation had been pursued for several years. It is therefore interesting to compare the results of the 1936 Census with the position shown in 1926 when a policy of selective protection had been in operation for just two years. It is not altogether surprising to find that there had been very little change in essentials. There were still an abnormally high number of persons under 20 without employment. In 1926 it was permissible to hope that expanding industrialisation would cure this very serious social weakness; that hope seems fainter fifteen years later. There was still a high, indeed an increased, percentage of celibates in the population, especially among those engaged in agriculture. There was, however, a shift of employment among those aged under 20. The number of persons between 14 and 19 engaged in agriculture fell by nearly 11,000. On the other hand the number of the same age-group engaged in other production rose by 8,000.

In view of the encouragement given to non-agricultural production during this decade, it is only natural that young persons should tend to enter industrial occupations in greater numbers than in 1926. But it does not appear that they obtain either secure or well-paid employment; and it is not at all reassuring to find that the number of females under 24 employed in non-agricultural occupations is greater than the number of males of the same age so employed. That is an unwelcome phenomenon; and, granted the low wages paid to young female workers, it is no great improvement on 1926.

The agricultural community fell, as should be more widely known, from 51 to 48 per cent. of the population during this decade. There is an extraordinary fall of nearly 8,000 in the number of farmers. That is not the whole story. The decline came, generally speaking, in the younger male age-groups. Taking this with the still increasing celibacy of the rural population, it would seem that at the end of another couple of decades considerably less than half of our population will live on the land. To a certain extent this decline will itself call forth counteracting forces; to a certain extent, too, it is inherent in our rural economy. Public speakers too often deplore the flight from the land

without pausing to reflect that our system of land tenure demands that most members of the rural family must leave their home, or, if they do stop on, remain unmarried. Nevertheless a continued decline in the agricultural population cannot be welcomed on any social or economic ground.

It is dangerous to generalise from statistics. One cannot help remarking, however, that this volume suggests a country in which the natural and predominant occupation loses its members both absolutely and relatively, in which the chief increases in employment are in those industries that pay lower wages, and in which the male population have to look, more than ever, to Great Britain for a living. It is not an attractive picture; and it must be remembered that it reflects the comparative peace and prosperity of 1936. It might yet be fashionable again to put first things first and to look to our land.

It is almost unnecessary to say that the present volume and its accompanying notes are a credit to the Statistics Branch. Their publications are among the best things we have done in the last twenty years. J. F. M.

THE SWEET SINGER OF ISRAEL. By C. C. Martindale, S.J. London: Sheed and Ward. 1940. 8s. 6d.

STILL another book added to the immense literature of the Psalms! Why not, if on the one hand it bears the stamp of Father Martindale's personality and on the other helps readers to understand the Psalms and to love them better. This much may fairly be claimed for the book before us.

Like all Father Martindale's books, it is in manner and outlook highly personal and fresh without being erratic. Though the author tells us that he "did not wish to write a learned disquisition," his book is the fruit of close study and wide knowledge of the text, both Hebrew and Latin. It is in two parts. Part I, "Towards Loving the Psalms," is stated to be a remote preparation for appreciating the Psalms, an approach to them for the modern reader to whom Hebrew forms of thought and speech are strange. It does, no doubt, in part fulfil this purpose, but it is rather a somewhat miscellaneous, though suggestive and interesting, series of essays on various aspects of these Hebrew lyrics—"Imagination in the Psalms," "Nature in the Psalms," "The Inner Self in the Psalms," and so on through a dozen chapters.

Part II is cast rather in the form of meditations. But though these start from a single verse and are divided into "points," they do not, in reality, greatly differ from the essays in Part I. For under topical headings—"Praise the Lord," "Experience, Gratitude and Trust," "The Social Sin," "Man's World-Sin," "Our Exile, Pilgrimage and Home," and so on—relevant thoughts from various parts of the

Psalter have been gathered and have been embodied in a running comment.

Those who attempt to use this book without having the text of the Psalms before them and without constantly referring to it, will make little or nothing of the book; for Father Martindale has not made it self-sufficient and independent of the text. And that is all to the good.

S. J. B.

UNIVERSITA CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE. Annuario per l'anno 1938-9. Milan: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero." pp. 466 + 32. L. 30.

This is a University Calendar, but it is no ordinary one wholly taken up with rules and regulations, courses and syllabuses, of interest only to students and professors; it is of more general interest. This, perhaps, may be made sufficiently clear by a bare enumeration of some of its contents. These are arranged in seventeen divisions or parts, of which I need name but a few. The first contains four addresses, two of which are by that remarkable man Padre Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., founder and Rector Magnificus of the University. One of these addresses is on Catholicism and "Italianità" in University Education, the other on the historical greatness of the late Pope Pius XI. These are followed by an address inaugurating a new course of lectures on mediaeval Latin literature. It is good to see a chair of that subject in a Catholic University.

To gain an idea of the literary activity of the University we have to take in conjunction several different divisions of the *Annuario*. Part III is a list, covering thirty-three pages, of the scientific publications of the staff, professors and lecturers during the year. Part VIII is a list of the publications of the University during the year. It includes six learned reviews and additions to the philosophical, juridical, philological, historical, and other series and to an important collection of mediaeval texts. Finally, at the end of the *Annuario*, there is a general list of the University's publications.

At least two further features seem of general interest. Under the heading "Necrologi" are given five biographical notices with portraits, while elsewhere in the volume there is an ample biography of another professor who died during the year. These notices, from a Catholic point of view, make good reading. Finally there is a list, running to fifty pages and about 1,200 items, of periodicals received by the University.

The whole *Annuario* gives an impression of vigorous and many-sided intellectual and religious life.

S. J. B.

THE FRENCH COLONIAL EMPIRE. Information Department Papers No. 23. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1941. 1s. 6d.

IN the last year we have heard only too much of the French Empire. This useful and objective booklet sets out to show the position of its various territories, their resources of man power and raw materials, the direction of their trade, and the political status of their inhabitants.

It is impossible to glance through these pages without realising how greatly France has contributed to the cultural, as well as the economic, development of Asia and Africa. She governs a wider colonial empire and a greater population than any other Power. Practically seventy million people, scattered all over the continents, are influenced by *la mission civilisatrice de la France.*

Whatever history may say of the Third Republic, it will not deny that it was justified in its colonies. In its last fifteen years of life it did much to develop French West Africa, not merely economically (which is always an equivocal achievement) but culturally. Race prejudice declined in Africa at the same time and almost at the same rate as it increased in Europe. Algeria grew in prosperity and population. Tunisia presented, then as always, difficult political problems; but it is remarkable that even the resounding collapse of the metropolitan authority has had no echo in that debatable land. It may not be irrelevant to note that the native population of Tunisia doubled during the period that it was halved in neighbouring Libya. Of the work of Lyautey in Morocco it is unnecessary to speak.

It is painful to think that work of this great quality should be suspended. That it was good in itself cannot be doubted; that it was enduring is proved by the devotion with which overseas France has shared the misfortunes of the mother country. It is impossible to avoid the thought that the natives of the colonies were better served by their Governors than the Frenchmen of France by their deputies.

J. F. M.

THE NEW HOPE SERIES: Fantastic Uncle, The Blind Spot, The Voyager, and The Sower Went Out. By Rev. T. Gavan Duffy. St. Louis: The City House Alumnae, Convent of the Sacred Heart, 334 North Taylor Avenue. 2s. 6d. each. 1938-9.

FATHER Thomas Gavan Duffy of the Paris Foreign Mission Society, active missionary in Southern India, will be known to many readers as the author of some of the most beautiful and even poignant studies of the missionary vocation and missionary life that have ever been written. Such were *Yonder?* and *The Price of Dawning Day.* In another vein was *Let's Go,* a lively narrative of a journey through Central Africa. In this last book appears the theme which runs like

an ever-recurring motif throughout the Hope Series of booklets, viz., the provision of trained and competent lay catechists in the missions. In the Preface to the first of this new Hope series he writes: "The whole point of these letters is to promote the still unrealized idea that, in the missions, the Church has to instruct, instruct, instruct."

If anybody expects to find in these booklets a string of edifying or amusing stories such as are found in missionary journals, he does not know his Father Gavan Duffy. Instead, we have, in the form of fictitious "letters" and in very unconventional language, Father Gavan Duffy's very definite and sometimes, one suspects, highly personal views on how missionary work ought to be conducted. Incidentally a good deal of white light is shed on missionary life in India. "A few high lights," he writes, "in the process of training catechists; a little theory; a jumble of experience; some hopes; some disappointments; some suggestions—these you will discover in these hasty pages." It may not sound very exciting; yet if the pages are hasty, they are never dull.

Of this "Fantastic Uncle's" zeal and earnestness there can be no doubt, and very little about the soundness of his main contentions. *Qui potest* [*et debet*] *capere capiat.* S. J. B.

DAIRY LEGISLATION IN EIRE. By Joseph Lyons, M.Sc., Professor of Dairy Technology, University College, Cork. Cork University Press. Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland. London: Longmans. 1941. 3s. 6d.

OUR DAILY BREAD. By Professor Joseph Reilly. Cork: Forum Press. 1941. 2s.

An old legal saw has it that "He who runs may not read the Common Law of England." It would be impossible to advance, even at a walking pace, through the tangled undergrowth of the administrative law of Eire. The Acts of the Oireachtas have lately come to be little more than so many authorisations to the Civil Service to make regulations. This is, no doubt, as satisfactory to the Service as it is labour-saving for the draughtsman, but it puts the layman in an impossible position. Very often the Orders are unobtainable; nor is it altogether unknown that two contradictory Orders should be in effect at the same time.

Professor Lyons has compiled an abstract of the more important regulations affecting the dairying industry. It will be of the very greatest assistance to those engaged in this great industry. He disclaims any attempt to make it a legal textbook; but it is a handy and practical guide around the chief pitfalls in the path of the dairy manager. He deserves congratulation for so practical a contri-

bution to the welfare of the industry ; and it is to be hoped and expected that his booklet will obtain a ready sale.

Professor Reilly writes on the dietetics of our daily bread. It is a subject of considerable importance at present, and his remarks on the importance of oats and barley in the event of a deficiency of wheat will be studied with attention. His reference to the experience of Denmark during the last war is of particular interest. A foreword is contributed by Professor Saunders ; and Mrs. Wrenne provides a number of recipes. Professor O'Rahilly seizes the opportunity of an Afterword to claim that events have justified his arguments for wheat-growing in 1930. Arguments must be considered in relation to the conditions of the time. In that year wheat was at its lowest price since the days of Charles II, and the risk of war was negligible. The Professor also refers, and very rightly if one may say so, to the price that farmers have to pay for seed. It is more than time that these fluctuations were removed. Dare one suggest that a pamphlet on this subject is needed ? J. F. M.

Books Received

Barbara, Sister Mary. Little Brother Jesus. (Burns Oates, 6d.).
Bradbrook, M. C. Joseph Conrad. (Cambridge University Press, 3/6).
Burrows, E. Gospel of the Infancy and other Biblical Essays. (Burns Oates, 8/6).
Costello, Nuala. Analecta Hibernica. Two Diaries of the French Expedition 1798. (Stationery Office, 7/6).
Croce, Benedetto. History as the Story of Liberty, (Allen & Unwin, 12/6).
Cronin, Michael. Primer of the Principles of Social Science. Third Edition. (Gill, 2/6).
Dalbiez, Roland. Pyschoanalytical Method and the Doctrine of Freud. Two volumes. (Longmans, 40/–).
Davis, W. E. Congo Doctor. (Robert Hale, 12/6).
Dempsey, B. W. Corporate Democracy. (St. Louis : Central Bureau Press, 10 cents.).
De Valera, Sineadh. Forbhas Chluain Mheala. (MacGuill, 9d.).
Dodman, Frank E. Lettering. A Beginner's Book. (Black, 9d.).
Elliott-Binns, L. E. Jeremiah. (Student Christian Movement, 5/–).
Fodor, M. W. The Revolution is on. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
Hart, Charles (Editor). Proceedings of the American Cath. Phil. Assoc. Vol. XVI. Problem of Liberty. (Catholic University, p. 293).
Hinsley, Cardinal. Bond of Peace and other War-Time Addresses. (Burns Oates, 6/–).
Hollis, Christopher. Noble Castle. (Longmans, 8/6).
Jalland, Trevor. Saint Leo the Great. (S.P.C.K., 21/–).
Kearney, John. As I have loved you. Materials for Meditation. (Burns Oates, 7/–).
Macalister, R. A. Stewart. Lebor Gabála Éreann. Part IV. (Published for Irish Texts Society by Educational Co., 16/–).
MacCarvill, Michael. First Communion. Progressive Lessons. (Gill, 9d.).
McNabb, Vincent. St. Mary Magdalen. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
O'Connell, J. Celebration of the Mass. Vol. I : General Rubrics. Vol. II : Rite of Celebration. (Burns Oates, 10/6 each).
Ó Siothchain, Ciaran. Seanchus Chléire. (Oifig an tSoláthair, 2/6).
Ostheimer, Anthony. The Family : The Cornerstone of Social Reorganisation. (St. Louis : Central Bureau Press, 10 cents).
Riaghalta, Bean. San Bernadette. (Oifig an tSoláthair, 2/–).
Roche, Aloysius. The Things that Matter. (Browne & Nolan, 5/–).
Sampson, George. The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature. (Cambridge Press, 15/–).
Sayers, Dorothy. The Mind of the Maker. (Methuen, 6/–).
Sheed, F. J. Sidelights on the Catholic Revival. (Sheed & Ward, 5/–).
Smyth, T. S. Postal History. A Story of Progress. (Eason, 6d.).
Taylor, A. J. P. The Habsburg Monarchy, 1815-1918. (Macmillan, 15/–).
Wu, John C. H. Science of Love. Study in the Teaching of S. Thérèse. (C.T.S.I., 1/–).

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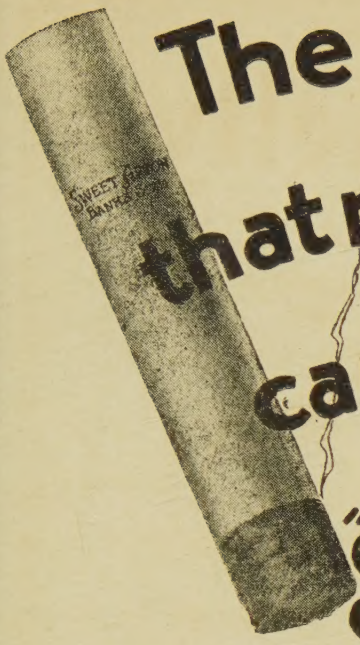

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